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Continuing The Historical Outlook

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The Social Studies

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A Moral and Psychological Basis for Democracy and Peace

RALPH B. GUINNESS

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The individual, according to democratic theory, is the center of society. His rights come first. The Declaration of Independence states: "That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; . . ." Government and society exist for the mutual protection of individuals; they are the servants of the people. No one person can claim a right which he would deny to others. No one can exercise a right which would infringe upon the rights of others. The chief right or aim of each individual, according to W. H. Burnham, is the integration of personality so that the organism may function efficiently as a whole.¹ The highest integration, he declares further, is one on the high levels of socio-centric integration which bind individuals together into an efficient social organism. Such social integration, necessarily respecting mutual rights, is one in accord with moral or democratic principles.

However, look which way we may—at past history or at the present—we see mankind living by a code of ethics and psychology which makes for universal disintegration or anarchy. On every hand we see a record and practice of wars, violent revolutions, dictatorships and representative governments contrary to democratic theory by any criteria. These cause widespread social disintegration and personal undemocratic behavior. While representative

governments have been attained, many scholars declare that we have but the forms of political democracy without real substance. As one example, we may cite the existence of the representation of rotten boroughs in legislatures, and in our Congress particularly, where minorities actually have the majority representation. Legally, social democracy exists, but it is violated in practice, as in the United States, by much popular prejudice.

Economically, our institution of capitalism is presumably in accord with the principles of democracy. Actually, if evaluated by the principles of democracy—liberty, equality, justice and the consent of the governed—it may be proved that our economic life is unjust. The ownership by one class of land and capital, the limitations on equality for such independence by principles of convergence, and the lack of a voice by the masses to determine the distribution of income, possibly proves this assertion.

For the past three hundred years the principles of democracy have been interpreted to mean *independence in personal and social relations*. As a corollary to this, the right of *free competition* to obtain independence and maintain it has been asserted. Competitive independence has been held to be essentially moral or democratic and also objectively sound. Men have wanted independence in order to be free from the dominance of others, which slavery and feudalism imposed. They have wanted the opportunity for competition for power, wealth and prestige. They have wanted compe-

¹W. H. Burnham, *The Wholesome Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1932).

tion, not only to be free but to prove to themselves and others that they are as good, if not better, than others. They have rationalized competitive independence as a psychology and institution of life on moral and intellectual grounds. Men have asserted that, having outlawed killing as the normal way of life, competition is morally necessary in self-defense. They have expounded doctrines concerning human nature and intelligence to establish claims of superior intelligence or character, which entitles those who can succeed in a competitive world to superior wealth, political power and social prestige.

Competitive independence has thus become the accepted end and method of personality integration. But such integration is of an egocentric kind which results in separating mankind rather than in integrating men personally and socially. Egocentric, or competitive independent, integration supplies the moral and psychological base for egocentric institutions: capitalism, nationalism, imperialism and war—all characterized by competition for independence.

Men rely upon competitive independence to adjust their relations involving conflicts and insecurities with individuals of their groups and with those of other groups. They do this personally by the practice of judging others as intellectually, morally or socially inferior to themselves in intelligence, character or status. Men form dislikes of others on these bases and eject "inferiors" from their acquaintance. This is a low form of adjustment, since it is negative and a mere protective, or escapist, device to resolve an insecurity. It is a means of mentally killing others for one's own protection—to give security to our person or property. Thus we become "integrated" and may concentrate on the task of pursuing economic livelihood or happiness. But such judgments or dislikes are undemocratic because we play the part of the autocratic king, acting as complaining witness, police, judge and jury. We present the evidence, render and execute the verdict: out of my life. This psychology can hardly be said to be in accord with the democratic principles of equality or justice. It does not create the basis for cooperation for sound government and society, which is necessary if we are to live

without wars and violent revolutions. Such a competitive, independent psychology does not create a permeating will-to-cooperate in society; hence it creates and sustains competitive institutions.

Thus, in political life, government is considered as a mere policeman to keep order without the responsibility of seeing that justice and liberty and real consent prevail. Government is merely to preserve competition without regard to its essential morality. Contradictorily, government, under the present type of nationalism prevailing, compels men to *cooperate* under national unity to fight a war against another similar national entity. While men need not cooperate to live within the nation, they *must* cooperate against another nation. Nationalism is of an egocentric kind, which seeks independence of others by competition for power, trade and prestige, ostensibly in the national interest. Since 1884, beginning in Germany, nations have adopted social security laws providing for old-age pensions, sickness, accident and unemployment insurance, not in the interest of democratic justice or moral responsibility, but to win the loyalty of peoples to maintain the status quo and to fight wars. Similarly, on regional bases within the nation, various social services, such as health, sanitation, and police and fire protection, are carried out under social ownership and operation, not as a matter of right and justice to fulfill democratic principles, but as a common-sense measure of health and efficiency. Those who advocate more socialization of the basic economic functions are usually considered disloyal, subverting democratic principles.

Government and nationalism are essentially egocentric institutions organized to function one against the other. Such nationalism functions on the principle that "the end justifies the means," with each nation feeling morally right to do as it pleases towards others, even to the ultimate extent of waging war as a national policy camouflaged under the aegis of fighting in self-defense. However, the mutual anarchy of nations and their imperialist rivalry are actually continuous attacks in peace upon the other. The firing of a shot first by one government is not the cause of war but an announcement that "peacetime competition" has been suspended.

The researches of many historians, among them Barnes, Beard, Fay, Hayes, Moon, Robinson and others, have shown that wars are due to competitive, independent nationalism and rival imperialism. Other historians have shown that such conditions grow out of capitalism at home owing to its principles of competition for economic gain at the expense of others. But it will be of no avail to indict war and its weapons: imperialism and capitalism, as unethical and undemocratic, unless the primary responsibility is placed upon the universal practice of undemocratic psychologies in personal life, by which we all rationalize competitive independence for integration as morally and intellectually sound.

Psychologies and institutions of competitive independence are obviously wrong, illusory and unethical. They divide men personally, causing much mental ill-health; they create insecurities throughout society on a national and international scale which, through internal social strife and war, react adversely upon personal integration, physically and psychologically. They divide men socially so that there is no real will-to-cooperate to create institutions at home and abroad, which will integrate men socially. Disarmament among nations to prevent war is not seriously considered because competitive institutions cannot cooperate for that purpose. International and national disarmament and security can only follow from psychological disarmament and security among individuals who surrender their belief in the efficacy and morality of egocentric integration.

Competition for independence is illusory and inefficacious, since each new gain in independence and power creates new insecurities. There is the fear that newly-won independence or security will be menaced by the competition of others. These in turn—from losses in the competition or from apprehended fears—will endeavor to increase their competitive power to escape an inferior status. The admitted unsoundness of competition for independence is ironically evidenced by practices of capitalism and nationalism. Individual capitalists, to be secure, form monopoly corporations, thus denying their belief in "rugged individualism." Society as a whole has condemned the same resort to individual competition by developing specialization and a division of labor and production

en masse, without, however, substituting democratic institutions for historic feudalistic practices. Nations, while professing the virtues of independence as a moral right, take it away from others through imperialist control of the lands or markets of others. Nations repudiate their professed beliefs by forming alliances with others or balances of power, thus attesting to the virtues of cooperation.

Throughout all life, individually and socially, men live by the principle that the "end justifies the means." Everything we feel and do—the dislike of others, the discriminatory judgments and practices of "keeping others in their place," competition in economic life and its repudiation by practices of corporate ownership and cooperative means of production, as well as war and imperialism among nations—all these are justified on moral grounds. We all condemn war or force, as immoral, but agree that it is necessary in self-defense. We weakly approve competition and its attendant sufferings and low-living standards as necessary to make life efficient.

Man must learn a moral enthusiasm for living and for changing his psychology and institutions to accord with democracy. He must not act from moral indignation toward other men and nations. Indignation merely projects upon others one's own contributions to the causes of man's conflicts and insecurities. If man would outlaw the atomic bomb, he must outlaw war. To do that he must outlaw competitive independent institutions and psychologies in order to provide a moral and psychological basis for peace and democracy.

To accomplish this we need education for democratic integration—education which can easily be conducted along the lines of already-accepted principles. All that we need to do is to teach the facts of the past instead of teaching a distorted nationalist history. We need to teach history of a quality in accord with the findings of scholars. We need to introduce inductive methods of teaching instead of the present practice of learning one text and deductively reasoning from it by means of the conventional recitation. We need to teach critical literacy in order to evaluate information in accord with the laws of evidence and moral principles. Education as a whole must be conducted in accord with the principles of

mental hygiene, as described by Burnham, so that education will be one of many processes which may make for sound psychological adjustment.

Such a change in education must also affect the lives of adults immediately if present world and national crises are to be lessened. Continued fears, suspicions and ill-will among and within nations will otherwise precipitate wars and civil disturbances. While the beginning of a re-orientation of public opinion, with regard to the problem of sound democratic personal and social integration as the central problem of life, will point men's minds in new

directions, there must be continuous re-education to effect reforms in institutions in order to make the change permanent. The first step is to agree that we need *cooperative* psychologies and institutions as the moral and psychological basis for peace and democracy. All that we need do is to recognize that accepted principles of religion, democracy and education are at present but forms that are negative and to which we give only lip-service. The great need today is to give substantial reality to our principles by adopting a psychology of democratic integration.

Political Education for the Atomic Age

WALTER E. MYER

Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C.

Political education for the Atomic Age must necessarily take into account both industrial and military consequences of the development and use of atomic energy. The application of this new source of power to peacetime industry may not be far away. If that is true, the Industrial Revolution, which was inaugurated at about the time of the beginning of our Republic and which has since gone constantly forward, may be accelerated, and vast changes in industry and the social life may result.

Inasmuch as there is a prospect that this may happen, it is highly important that the citizens of the nation should be so trained politically that they can bend the new revolution to social ends.

Social and political developments have never kept pace with the scientific and mechanical, and we have always suffered the consequences of that lag. If the citizens of this nation, in the early days of the Republic, had been trained in the arts of politics, it is easily conceivable that the scientific and mechanical improvements of the last century and a half might have freed the nation from ignorance and poverty. It is possible that factory developments might have occurred without defacing the landscape and without leaving slums and other social scars in the wake of material progress.

It does little good to regret the failures of the past, but it is worthwhile now, at what appears to be the opening of a new epoch, to determine that these mistakes shall not recur. Through the use of atomic energy, we may build a more truly democratic and a more prosperous nation. But to insure such progress, it is important that we should prepare to exercise social controls more wisely than they have been used in the past.

But however important it may be to prepare society for the use of the new power which is coming into our hands, the military aspects of the atomic problem are so urgent as to claim first consideration.

It would be pleasant to think that we have now reached a point of equilibrium so that disturbances in the future would be unlikely. An examination of the conflicting foreign policies of the great powers does not, so far as I can see, indicate that this point has been reached. Unless unaccustomed efforts are made to preserve peace, future wars seem probable.

It is almost unthinkable, however, that supreme efforts toward harmony and peace should not be made, for, in this Atomic Age, war would be positively destructive of civilization.

Dr. Arthur H. Compton, Chancellor of Wash-

ington University, describes briefly as follows the nature of atomic warfare: "Jet-propelled planes or rockets, with atomic warheads, would be sent without warning at each of several enemy production centers." Dr. Compton added that 10 per cent of the population would die of the initial attack.

There is general agreement among scientists that we cannot keep the atomic secret. Other nations either already have it or soon will. Many of us have found consolation in the thought that the production is very costly and requires an industrial development which very few nations possess, but that will probably not be true of future production. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist who headed the making of atomic bombs in New Mexico, says:

The atomic bomb is a very ordinary thing in some ways, but in a world of atomic weapons war will cease.

Because it is known that the project cost us two billion dollars, and we dropped just two bombs, it is easy to think that they must be expensive. But for any serious undertaking in atomic armament—without any elements of technical novelty whatever, just doing things that have already been done—that estimate of cost would be high by something like a factor of one thousand. Atomic weapons, even with what we know today, can be cheap.

It is worth noting that the atomic bomb is an aggressor's weapon and the weapon of dictatorial nations. In the use of it, a democratic nation such as the United States will be at an almost certain disadvantage. We are neither psychologically nor constitutionally equipped for a sudden atomic attack upon another nation—an attack delivered because we think that that nation may attack us. Our military authorities would scarcely launch such an attack without the consent of Congress, and Congress would not quickly and suddenly authorize such an attack in anticipation of trouble with another nation.

We are therefore likely to be on the defensive, and there is no defense against an atomic attack such as an aggressive dictatorial power might launch. There is a strong probability, therefore, that in an atomic war of the future,

the United States would suffer the first devastating attack—which might well be fatal.

This is an extremely serious prospect for us. Conditions being what they are, there seems to be no safety for us except in somehow establishing relations among nations under which mutual suspicions and rivalries will be removed, and all people, everywhere, will desire peace. The abolition of war, therefore, becomes not merely a desirable end, as it has always been, but it becomes probably a matter of life or death to us. It is not at all certain but it is definitely possible that we cannot survive future wars if they should come.

While recognizing the dark outlook, we know this: we will not unresistingly accept defeat. We will assume a long and successful career for our nation and will do what we can to insure that result.

The problem of the future peace of the world does not, of course, lie wholly in our own hands. It is possible that, though we might do everything that we possibly could to insure peace and to prevent the catastrophe of a war waged with the weapons men now possess, war might still come. On the other hand, it is a fact that the United States is a very powerful nation—at present, the most powerful of all nations. It is also, on the whole, a non-aggressive nation. It has a long and idealistic tradition which is well understood by the nations of the world. We have a better chance than any other country has to exert the kind of leadership which will remove the dark shadow which now casts a pall over our own country and all the world.

There is little evidence that that leadership is now being exercised. Present prospects are not good. A spirit of defeatism is apparent among the nations. Even in our own country, such a leader as General Arnold sees, as the best chance of survival, an armament race among the nations. Meanwhile, mutual suspicions are developing. Power politics is being played and nations are pinning their hopes of survival upon the maintenance of balance of power.

What, under the circumstances, can the United States do? What policies may we hopefully adopt?

I cannot attempt a full or complete answer to that question, but I can outline certain pos-

sibilities; certain policies which might or might not remove suspicion and develop certain conditions in the world conducive to peace, but policies which would look in that direction. After all, we must do the best that we can and hope for the success of the measures we adopt.

Our policies can be built on a recognition of the fact that this is indeed one world and that no nation is safe unless all are secure. We can, therefore, see to it that whatever other nations may do, every measure which we adopt may be designed not only to help and strengthen ourselves, but to help and strengthen peoples everywhere.

We may not, probably cannot, bring about the establishment of a world government at once, but so far as our own measures are concerned, we may immediately act as if the world were one great nation, and as if we were as much concerned about building up the prosperity and well-being of the people in every part of the world as we are in protecting the welfare of the people of any section of our own country.

This does not mean that we will undertake to legislate for other people, or to tell them how to legislate for themselves, but we must study the effects of every bit of our own legislation and enact only those measures which are not hurtful to peoples anywhere.

We must study the impact of our relief policies, our trade and monetary practices, the use of our merchant marine and aviation, to see to it that the measures we adopt do not interfere with the prosperity or well-being of the peoples of any section of the globe.

If we should boldly, courageously, and unreservedly inaugurate a program of this kind, it is possible that others would follow our example, that suspicions would be removed, that incentives to aggression might be wiped out, and that a peaceful world might be established. The adoption of such a program would be a grand adventure which would stand at least some chance of achieving its objectives. This would seem to be the best chance that we have to save ourselves by saving the world from war.

At the same time that we are taking into account the needs of other people as well as our own in all our legislation, we could be working for the increase of international controls and

for the gradual establishment of international government.

I am not suggesting that, in our effort to promote the well-being of peoples everywhere, we should forget the protection of our own interests. During the doubtful period, when the outcome of our altruistic policies hung in the balance, during the period when wars might or might not develop, we should maintain our own military strength and should, so far as possible, be prepared to defend ourselves if necessary. In a way, this program is contradictory to the one I have recommended, for our own armament would tend to foster the suspicion we are trying to remove. To carry out these two mutually contradictory programs would require great tact and skill, but if the altruism of our purposes should be apparent in all of our legislation and in all of our acts, it is possible that we might maintain our own defenses so long as it is necessary to do so, without too greatly hampering our primary purposes.

Whether the program I have outlined, or some alternative one, should be adopted as our best defense against the very real dangers in which we now live, it must be apparent that the perils of this hour call for a high degree of statesmanship, based upon wise and understanding citizenship. It is, with that necessity in view, that I shall outline a program of political education which, though not guaranteeing the future, may offer some hope that we may somehow wisely meet the problems which, day by day and year by year, will beset us.

(1) A continuing high school course, dealing with international problems. It seems to me that at a time when our very lives may depend upon the adoption of wise international policies it is imperative that the youth of the land become acquainted with the people of this shrinking world and with their problems. Without such knowledge, one simply cannot make up his mind concerning problems of international policy.

Therefore, I recommend the continuing and continuous study of peoples and problems. Students should become well acquainted with the people of every nation. They should know how these people live, what their problems are, what their hopes and fears are, what stands in the way of their material and moral progress. It is especially important, also, that every

American should know how peoples everywhere are affected by American competition, American laws, and American policies.

I do not see how adequate information in this field can be obtained unless plans for continuous study are arranged. With this idea in mind, I recommend a course continuing for five days a week, throughout the high school period. During the earlier high school years emphasis may be on geography; that is, upon the study of the peoples of all parts of the world and their problems. In the later years emphasis may shift to the study of concrete issues of international policy.

This course should not supplant the current history work now being done in the high schools, but should supplement it. If this continuing course in international relations should be established, the periods now given to current history could stress especially our domestic problems, which are surely urgent enough.

(2) Student discussion clubs. Students will always be found who are especially competent and who are particularly interested in the study of politics and international relations. Provision should be made for them to specialize in the study of these problems, and extra-curricular discussion clubs may furnish such an opportunity.

(3) Special training of potential leaders. The teachers and administrators of each high school should devise means of singling out the students of proven competence who have an aptitude for, and an interest in, political studies. These students should be encouraged to go on with their work beyond the high school years. In the case of those who have not the means to attend college, scholarships should be provided. If necessary, subsidies should come from governmental sources.

(4) Political training in college. Colleges, as well as high schools, should provide for a continuing and continuous study of political problems, giving special emphasis in an era such as this to problems of international policy. Colleges and universities should maintain departments or schools of politics, using this term in the Aristotelian sense.

(5) These college and university schools of politics should offer leadership and guidance to the entire population. They should serve adult education groups through the provision of ex-

tension courses and the establishment and guidance of adult discussion groups.

(6) A campaign of education should be carried on with the purpose of inducing voters to select officials, and particularly members of Congress, from among the graduates of the college and university schools of politics, or from among the participants in adult education activities. We cannot afford to be represented by officials who are not politically trained. We need political specialists at the helm.

If a member of our family were ill we would not think of calling in a successful businessman or a good lawyer to administer to him. We would want someone who had been trained in the study and practice of medicine or surgery. If we were in legal difficulties, we would want someone trained in the study and practice of law. Similarly, if we are to choose a man to represent us in dealing with the extremely difficult and complex problems of domestic or international policy, we need someone who is trained in the study of these problems. If, in our schools, colleges, and universities, we can devise studies and practices which command the respect of the nation, it should be possible effectively to encourage the selection of specifically trained officials.

(7) Teacher education. Are there enough specially qualified teachers in high schools and colleges, and enough well prepared leaders of adult study and discussion groups, to carry on the comprehensive educational program I have outlined? Probably not. Teaching of current history and world affairs calls for definite equipment just as the teaching of history and the traditional social studies do, and yet few teachers have had special training in the current history field. If the program were inaugurated quickly, as I think it ought to be, the training of teachers would have to be of the in-service variety. Instructors and professors in the social sciences would be obliged to study content and methods in current problems teaching and in group discussion at the same time that they were gaining actual experience in the job. This, of course, could be done if there were determination behind the idea. Eventually, teachers could be drawn from the graduates of the schools of politics conducted by the universities.

In order to obtain competent leadership,

salary schedules must, of course, be revised. They must be revised upward, and rather drastically, if we are to have competent teaching. Regardless of whether the citizenship program which I have described is adopted or not, teachers' salaries are too low. Many efficient teachers will continue in their work, as they have been doing, whether salaries are raised or not, but unless compensation is greater in the teaching profession, a sufficient number of young teachers cannot be brought into the field. This is one of the most urgent problems of American education.

(8) Fact finding. Whenever an issue arises, whether it be domestic or international, it is hard to obtain adequate information about it. Take for example the problem of the strikes which are now disturbing industry. Workers say that an increase of wages will stimulate business and thus provide greater employment, and that the welfare of the nation will be served. The companies say that increases cannot be paid without an increase in prices, and that this will discourage production and will produce inflation.

What are the facts? This problem is not well reported in the newspapers. Day by day developments are outlined, but fundamental issues are not treated, and it is difficult, if not impossible, for the ordinary citizen, or for the schools, to find out what the facts are.

I suggest, therefore, that fact-finding commissions, under cooperative university leadership and direction, should be established to outline pertinent facts relative to issues as they develop. Groups of universities could cooperate in the establishment of the commissions, and essential facts should be set forth. In case there is disagreement among the members of the commissions, minority reports could be prepared.

(9) These reports should be distributed as

widely as possible. They should be made available to **high schools and colleges** for definite study, and also to adult study groups. An effort should be made to distribute them to the general public, but it would definitely be possible to put them to immediate use in institutions where the issues were under consideration.

(10) There should be a more direct relationship between citizen groups, especially study clubs, and their official representatives. Students should be encouraged to **lay their opinions** with respect to definite issues before members of Congress, editors, and other leaders of opinion. Classes, of course, should not take action as such, but individuals, having participated in classes or in discussion clubs and having come to conclusions concerning a specific issue, should get into the habit of taking action as individual citizens. Action can best be taken by making opinions known to those who are in positions of influence or authority.

It is my opinion that if a program such as I have outlined were adopted, the level of civic competence would be materially raised, and citizens in increasing numbers would come to wise and practicable conclusions concerning the measures, international and domestic, which should be adopted. I think that if this program were adopted, the prospects of stability at home and of peace throughout the world would be materially improved.

If citizenship levels are raised, I believe that the quality of statesmanship in the United States will be comparably affected. I have faith in the power of education to influence national action and thus to affect international conduct. If the specific recommendations I have made are not those best suited to a democracy, seeking to improve its standards of action in a time of grave crisis, I hope that some better ones will be devised.

The Business of Education in a Democracy

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There are those who will decry the suggestion that the term "business of education" should be used in respect to the acquisition of knowledge, the dissemination of culture. We

are reminded that a comparable term was used by the Christ, referring to the spiritual field of religion, when he said: "Know ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" Emerson

said: "The true test of civilization is not the census nor the size of cities, nor the crops, but the kind of men that the country turns out." Here we see at least the suggestion that the product of our civilization is its citizens.

In the democracies of North America there has been a tendency to look upon public education as a special privilege enjoyed, rather than development of the millions of young people of an intelligent educated citizenry is necessary to the preservation of democracy itself. Privilege it is, peculiar to the democratic form of government where the worth of the individual is recognized, but if the privilege is not channeled and used with full recognition of its opportunities and obligations the form of government extending such a privilege may in time come to be overthrown or destroyed.

There is a need to go about this educational development of the millions of young people passing through our public educational system in a businesslike manner. We must satisfy ourselves—and we have an obligation to posterity and to our form of government in that respect—that out of the myriad characteristics of youth, with a multiplicity of interests, the end product of our educational processes will be men and women citizens increasingly well versed in the problem of self-government, and able to carry on their individual parts in the world of their time.

Actually the product of our thousands of schools might very well be likened unto the product of a factory. While we of a democracy naturally shrink from evaluating humanity in any term less than the preciousness of life itself, nevertheless a close analogy can be seen, and certain benefits from such a comparison may be made. In a world where numerous ideologies are being widely propagandized, a conscious businesslike approach to the collective benefits of education is necessary.

We know that the modern factory takes raw materials, and through various processes of treatment, transfers those materials into a product that is regarded as useful to society. Sometimes a variety of materials are put together into one finished product, while in other instances a single raw material is processed to a point where it becomes a completed article. Here then, is our first comparison of the raw

materials of nature and the raw materials of citizenship—planning and the use of a number of elements may bring us the finished product of the well versed community leader, or the processing of what might be called a single element can give us the highly trained specialist, also a useful citizen.

We know too, that the businessman setting out to manufacture a product has a definite idea as to the use that will be made of that product. The manufacturer of lawn sprinklers knows that his market is in the region where water pressure is available, and he has no visions of a broad sale to the thirsting wheat regions of the world. His production is for a definite purpose. Today we need to ask ourselves if we have fully analyzed the purposes for which we are producing our growing citizen, and have arranged our plans and our plants in such a manner as to be sure to produce the product that is needed. Production of material in a modern factory is not a haphazard proposition. If a business is to maintain itself successfully, management knows that it must have a sufficient know-how of the production processes involved, that it must do an acceptable job of producing a given number of units in a given time. Both of these factors are of tremendous importance, in the business of education.

For instance, in the field of social sciences, most of real geography has been imparted to the student in the elementary or intermediate grades, a level at which the full significance that geography is the study of earth as the home of man, cannot be absorbed by the student. In the know-how of production, it is often necessary to bring an element to a certain state before additional elements can be added to it. The timeliness of the processes that take place is important. We need to review this matter of timeliness in our consideration of the business of education.

Similarly, in the matter of producing a given number of units in a given time, we have been to a large extent negligent. If the semi-processed material of citizenship is to go on to the college level for further refinement, one condition prevails, but if the high school presents the terminal treatment, we need a greater amount of polishing off to present the high

school graduate as the finished product in the citizenship business.

Both know-how and production of a satisfactory volume in a given time require equipment. Our educational system needs the same tooling up process for production that industry enjoys. There is equipment peculiarly designed to the job at hand, and it must be provided in sufficient numbers to form adequate equipment for the staff that is to be employed. How many teachers today have adequate materials with which to work? They may have desks, blackboards and other place and comfort equipment which would compare to the stools of workers in shops, but do they have the tools of their profession in proper quantity—the charts, maps, globes, models, textbooks, other media necessary to their work? Every teacher has a right to ask the responsible heads of a school system: "Do you have an efficient shop for transforming youth into citizens—have you provided me with the tools necessary for the work that you expect me to do?"

The modern business takes pains to see that workers are carefully trained. In this respect the business of education has made a considerable beginning, because there has been a great expansion of the normal school facilities, of the universities and colleges, and particularly the education departments of these institutions. Much of this training, however, has been devoted to theory, with not enough devoted to actual training of the teaching tools that will be used in this "workshop of humanity." There has also been a lack of common acceptance of the real product of our educational factory—maturing citizens to meet present-day problems. If we are thinking about young people growing up into citizens and taking a part in community and national life, why not mention it? Governments of the people, by the people and for the people require at least majority participation.

Thus far we have suggested that the relationship of the business of education to industry runs through the processing of the raw materials, proper equipment for the work, proper training for the workers. Now we

would like also to suggest that if education is a business, and an important business in our form of government, it is deserving that its story be told boldly, as modern business tells its story. Magazines contain beautiful color illustrations, newspapers have full page spreads, all telling the story of the production, use and advantages of this product or that product, and the reasons why we should buy or use it day after day. Public education has assumed that everyone will recognize the good job it has done and its benefits. Have these been so fully recognized? Perhaps its professional characteristic is responsible for this reticence, but if education is an important part in democracy, and we believe it is, we deserve to be told about it again and again. An "Education Week" once a year, an annual "Visitor's Day" at the school, would not be regarded as a very full promotional campaign by the average business man.

The objectives of education are said to be for self-realization, for human relationships, for economic efficiency, and for civic responsibility. They touch every one of us. Yet day after day passes without anyone outside of education, and few within the education circle itself, being consciously reminded of the shape and performance possibilities we are giving to the raw materials in our hands.

Whether we are willing to call education a business, or to hold it in the high plane of a profession, at least we ought to recognize that we are forming the medium that will carry our civilization forward in the years to come, and that the product of our work is the oncoming citizen. We owe that product proper equipment for its efficient production within the period of time that it is within our plant. We owe that product our best thought as to the purpose for which it is being formed. We owe ourselves and our posterity a better job of selling our product to ourselves and to the rest of the world.

Business or profession, education is entitled to operate and be evaluated by standards that are successfully operating today.

The Need for Twentieth Century Humanities

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How often it is repeated that our scientific knowledge and our mechanical ingenuity have outstripped our ability to live together in a smoothly functioning social and economic society! Never more so than in the past few months have we been so aware of our ineptitude since we have become the possessors of the atomic bomb and do not know what to do about it or with it. The tragic dilemma should not be incapable of solution. One solution to a teacher in the social sciences would be to expand the studies that concern our living together and ourselves, the humanities of the twentieth century—economics, sociology, government and psychology. Yet the school system of which I am a part has contracted the courses in the social studies offered students in the high school—not expanded them.

Somewhat over a year ago the teachers of civics or American government, economics and sociology were called together and told that hereafter these courses were to be combined in a one year course to be called Modern Problems I and II. The civics had been compulsory and would continue to be so under the new title of Modern Problems I. The sociology and economics were combined in a semester's course, becoming Modern Problems II. It, too, is now compulsory with certain exceptions. Heretofore, a student might elect either economics or sociology or both if he chose. Were this a procedure taken only in this school system, it would have none too great significance, but many schools have been changing their electives of sociology and economics to a "Modern Problems" course, and publishers have many textbooks to offer for such a combined course.

What are the reasons for the contraction into a semester of subject matter that can hardly be covered in a year of a high school student's life? We are told that the change was made for the sake of economy. Of course, there is economy in that only one book need be bought.

I wonder if the American people need to be economical in the matter of book buying. Also there is the economy of time. Some students, however, will want to specialize in the social sciences and they will want to spend more time in these studies. Many students, of course, will want to specialize in the sciences. These students will not have time for a study of government, economics, sociology and psychology. The fact that an important group of students will not have time for all these subjects should be no deterrent to offering them for others who will elect their comprehensive study. Students of the social sciences and of the physical sciences, however, should cross over into one another's fields to gain at least a minimum understanding of the physical and social worlds.

There is uniformity to be considered. Some high schools may not have offered both subjects, or the content of these courses may have differed greatly from school to school. With all schools in the system using the same book, perhaps every day every young student in the same grade may be studying somewhere near the same page. And, of course, there is always the difficulty of administration. Perhaps students thoughtlessly overloaded the sociology classes because the subject was easy and the economics difficult, or the load might have fallen on a popular teacher of one or the other subject.

But I more than suspect that it is difficult to get teachers well trained in each subject. Departments of economics and psychology, particularly, in the universities and colleges have wished to make their "schools" difficult and their courses highly specialized. They have not thought it their province to decide what the average person needs to know about the subject to get along adequately with himself and his fellows.

I shall not try to solve these difficulties. I only know that one cannot really get an under-

standing of civics, economics and sociology in one year. I believe that nothing should be taught superficially. For example, in teaching about our money and banking systems, unless the fundamentals are understood, it is better that these subjects should not be mentioned. I do not mean that one should go into an exhaustive or an all-inclusive study of each of our modern problems, but one must understand basic factors, or else only an increasing confusion is the result. Let us take this statement about money from a textbook: "A silver certificate is easy to identify. It contains on its face the following statement: 'This certifies that there is on deposit in the Treasury of the United States of America one dollar in silver payable to the bearer on demand.'" Nowhere does the book explain what a silver dollar is. So the relation between weight and the price of metal, and the value of money remain obscure. In our discussions of the curriculum, we have neglected the "how" of teaching the content. The "how" means the thoroughness with which we clarify ideas or procedures.

An article by Norman Angell in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for November 18, 1944, called "Peace and Economic Illiteracy," expresses so well our urgent need for understanding economic principles that I briefly quote from it:

The educational systems designed for the millions have never even pretended to grapple with the problem of the economic r's . . . but about the most indispensable, the most powerful, and frequently used of all the devices of our daily lives, the money in our pockets and in our banks, about which the voter directly or indirectly is called upon to make vital and far-reaching decisions—about that, most of us are taught broadly just nothing whatever. It is something which our popular education neglects to such degree that, unless the voter has passed through a university and taken economics, he is not likely to have heard one word about it from the day he enters school to the day he leaves. . . . One recalls with painful vividness that . . . newspapers with circulations running into untold millions clamored for years on end that Britain should be made to pay her war debts and that the tariffs should be raised to keep out her goods. . . . The

meaning of economic interdependence has still to be explained to the world.

Nor should sociology be neglected. A nation with 11,000,000 men and women away from home, caught short in its housing, has failed in understanding its own needs and in its ability to apply its knowledge and resources to good social living. What kind of people will our unstable marriages create? Perhaps understanding the problem will make us steer our course differently.

In the "Modern Problems" course some study of vocations is also to be made. A study of vocations for the purpose of guidance is needed by the high school student. Vocational guidance, however, should be only a part of understanding of one's self. The average man is talking of frustrations, inferiority complexes and other mental phenomena. He is asking questions, but the exploration of man's mind and emotions is almost taboo in the public schools. Warren Taylor in *School and Society* for August 25, 1945, says in his article, "The Emerging College":

To measure up to their responsibilities, individuals must attain not only maturity of mind but of emotions as well. Colleges are just reaching, in this advanced century, the threshold of those vast chambers of the mind which houses the mechanisms of repression, rationalization, escape-fantasies, fixations, hyper activity, and fear. As these are more and more understood, a repressive infantilism will relax its grip on adult man and will free men, as men, so that they may have a maximal use of their emotional as well as their intellectual energies in getting the work of the world done.

This is the language of the technician in his field, but he is describing the mind and emotions of all mankind. The possession of knowledge of the self must belong not only to the college-educated person, but it also must belong to those who may attend high school only. If the university or college has the ultimate responsibility for the culture of our country, it must translate its knowledge so that all may benefit from the truths of the twentieth century humanities.

The scientist expects many failures before he attains success. But let one experiment in social living fail and the cynic is there to say

that success in our living together in social and economic harmony is impossible since man's sin is so great that he can not live on a plane of cooperative well-being. The public has accepted the physical sciences but not the social sciences.

We must recognize, too, that the less than thorough treatment of our economic and social life may be because the facts of our economic and social living are too highly colored by personal interests. Because the economics of our times affect many of our vested interests, the student finds it difficult to learn the truth. While this is being written the public is being presented with "facts" by one of the largest corporations of America. These are at complete variance with the "facts" presented by the

union whose members are employed by this corporation. Yet young people must become aware of the conflicting interests in our social, political and economic life. They must be prepared to weigh objectively evidence in the social sciences if that objectivity is not used as an excuse for a do-nothing attitude toward the securing of the benefits of our resources for all. The very strength of our democracy which encourages the endless discussion of our problems by opposing parties may also be its weakness, especially to the immature mind, which hopes for the perfect leader to solve all problems. The mind, however, which is oriented to its own problems and to those of society, may enter adulthood with a reasonable devotion to the cause of the greatest good for the greatest number.

National Cultures and the Soviet System

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I

The notion of superior master-races versus inferior, subject peoples has pervaded history from antiquity to the present. Master-peoples built cities and states successfully and subjected others to their will. They said, "We are born free, destined to rule; others are born to a life of submission." The British, who have shown great competence in self-government and have established sway over others, were once considered by Cicero fit only for slaves, in any event unlikely to have intellectual or artistic talents.

Master-nations claimed the preeminence of their own culture. Central in importance was the language and literature of the masters. Hellenic folk divided their world into Barbarians and Greeks. With the conquest of Roman arms went that of the Latin tongue. This spread of the master-language, though impressive and influential, failed to establish a genuine, lasting unity of conquerors and conquered. When Roman power weakened and disintegrated, localism asserted itself. Ultimately, after the lapse of centuries, despite the effort of ecclesiastical powers to maintain the

supremacy of Latin, the mother-tongues of the once-subject peoples triumphed, bearing, however, the mark of their long tutelage to Rome.

The burgeoning of modern nationalism, amid the collapse of the medieval, ecclesiastical system which had continued to impose Latin, is reflected in praise of mother-tongues. Dante speaks to Italians in a language they can understand; Luther speaks to Germans; both advance the use of their vernaculars by writing. Ascham writes English for Englishmen. Mulcaster honors Latin, but he glories in his "naturall English tounge" to the point of worship. How long peoples must have waited for literacy in Latin is open to speculation. In the fourteenth century, commoners were still illiterate. Some credited the "old Deluder, Satan," with having held people in ignorance by keeping the Scriptures in an unknown tongue. Education of peoples in their native idioms has made rapid progress towards universal literacy since the sixteenth century, thereby opening to them worlds of cultural treasures previously unknown.

As modern national states grew to maturity they laid more and more stress on mastery of

the mother-tongue of the dominant ethnic element within them, compelling minority groups to put on this symbol of unity. Diverse peoples within their borders were thus, with varying degrees of success, Germanized, Russified, Americanized, insofar as a common tongue could make them so.

When certain national states became large and powerful, they overflowed their once-accepted frontiers and became contenders for empire. Though, after the eighteenth century, the doctrine of free nationalism—the right of peoples to self-rule—made great headway and inspired many nationalist revolutions, the mightiest contenders for empire constantly infringed the principle in Africa and Asia, and even in Europe, if it served their interest to do so. And if the master-nation empire-builder sought at all to educate the “lesser breed” among whom they came as conquerors, it was that they might learn the language and culture of the masters and forget their own.

Not every empire-building nation theorized about the rights and duties of *Herrenvolk*, but all demonstrated the master-complex. “Inferior” peoples felt the master’s heel. Even peoples with a cultural lineage more ancient than their master’s were humiliated. Macaulay and his followers carried literary coals to New Castle. Indian students came to know Shakespeare better than Kalidasa. The *Iliad* displaced the *Mahabharata*. Poland, proud of her ancient culture, felt the heavy hand of imperialism, learned that its business was to imprison or hang patriots and impose the master-culture on their children. Poles were compelled to teach their children Russian language and literature and even say their prayers in the foreign tongue—save for furtive moments when, keeping a sharp sentinel to warn of a suddenly approaching Tsarist inspector, rebellious teachers lapsed into Polish history in the mother tongue.

Imperialist rivalries reached the breaking point in 1914. Empires were staked in open world-girdling conflict. Some were lost. The Tsars lost an empire in the war which ended in revolution. Imperial Germany collapsed, but stopped short of the revolution which swept the Tsar’s domain. Other imperial powers were shaken economically and politically. Under the impact of such a disturbing,

portentous experience, the great imperialist nations made promises of reforms at home, and held out hope for the freedom and independence of colonials. India was promised freedom. On every hand was talk of self-determination. Numerous new states were carved out of old ones in Europe—at the expense of the vanquished. Colonial peoples were mandated as a “sacred trust of civilization” under tutelage of more “advanced” nations. Under such arrangements, and with a League of Nations to look after future peace, imperialist powers and those that owned no such pretensions steadied themselves as they emerged from the chaos of world war.

The results of victory were not happy. The League of Nations failed in its purpose. *Pan-Europa* proved an empty dream. Those who had defeated Germany helped assiduously to rebuild her as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. Mandates proved frequently to be barely masked imperialism. Syria and Lebanon seethed under French and British interference. Today they are in open revolt against western imperialism, which has continued despite the French pledge of complete independence at the termination of the original mandates, September 16, 1941. India still cries for freedom. Denial of it mocks the justice and freedom for which the United Nations professed to fight. Mrs. Pandit, sister of Nehru, asserts that India is not to be bound by votes that were cast by Britain’s chosen delegates at San Francisco. The Japanese yoke might have proved harder to bear than the white man’s, but China and India make it clear that they will have neither in the future.

II

To the critical problem of national minorities and undeveloped or suppressed cultures versus master-nations and their culture patterns, the Soviet Union offered a solution in 1917. Against the back drop of centuries-old, imperialist practices, and especially in comparison with Hitler’s “master-race” experiments, the Soviet policy stands in sharp contrast. Germany and many other Western nationalists have been full of notions of racism. De Lapouge asserted that millions would some day destroy their neighbors because of a few degrees difference in cephalic index! The dire consequences of teaching people to believe they

possess something that does not exist has now been demonstrated once again, at great cost to Germany and other nations of the world. The Soviet Union, between two world wars, put science to work in the interest of all ethnic groups and sought to root out the prejudices and inequalities which thrived under Great-Russian imperialism. In the judgment of competent observers her victorious stand against Hitler's hordes owed much to the unity inspired by her enlightened minority policy. Glimpses of its operation have stirred the imagination and stimulated the aspiration of subject peoples outside the Soviet Union.

What is Soviet policy respecting national cultures? Certain basic, theoretical conceptions underlying Soviet treatment of national minorities had been formulated long before the Bolsheviks came to power, and have been restated on various occasions. First, in keeping with the best scientific knowledge today, Communist theory rejects the age-old notion of superior and inferior peoples and that civilization depends on a "superior" race. Backward nations are undeveloped, not because of lack of capacity but for the lack of opportunity.

Equally fundamental is the thesis that private property disunites peoples—makes some oppressors and others oppressed—whereas collective labor and ownership unites them and effectively undermines and destroys oppression of one nation by another.¹ Feudalism had kept peoples isolated, in subjection to a landed aristocracy. Capitalism, Communists regarded as a progressive factor, wiping out feudalism and furthering the fusion of various elements into nations. Nations did not develop equally, however. Some peoples created states, or provided the nuclear influence in their formation; others, unable to play such a role, were subjected to them that were successful. Always the instrument of power, playing a determining role amid the shifting scenes of national struggles, was private capitalism. By extending its aid, nations could be developed; by withholding it, they could be retarded or frustrated. New states, created after World War I—Finland, Georgia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and others—were not independent but dependent. According to the Soviet view,

they represented neither a solution of the relation of nation to nation, nor of national minorities within their borders.

In harmony with these premises, Communists maintained the right of peoples to political independence, that collaboration of nations must be voluntary, and that a "durable amalgamation" of nations is possible only with the passing of private capitalism. The overthrow of capitalism provided the basis for the Bolsheviks' test of the theory respecting national minorities in the Tsar's domain.

Stalin and other Marxists early took pains to clarify and define the meaning of "nation." Their concept emphatically rejected a tribal or racial definition, such as Hitler sought to make the basis of his nationalist state. Equally summarily denied, too, was the theory of nationality as simply a community of thinking, of language, and of character. Both these concepts, if stressed as all-important or exclusive, would tend to disunite peoples rather than provide a basis for their amalgamation. Instead of them, Communists accepted Stalin's view that a nation is an "historically evolved, stable community," having a common language, occupying a common territory, participating in a common economic existence, and possessed of a certain psychology or character which exhibits itself in a community of culture.

Self-determination of nations was defined (1913) as freedom to decide their own destinies, freedom from forcible interference by others, freedom of their institutions, language, customs and rights from curtailment or suppression. But while a nation has the right to determine all such matters, the Party's duty and functions are to agitate against all "noxious customs and institutions" which it judges injurious to the welfare of workers. In 1917, the national policy was formulated in four principles: recognition of the right to secession; regional autonomy of peoples in a given state; protection by law of the free development of national minorities; and "a single, indivisible proletarian collective body, a single party, for the proletarians" of all nationalities in the state. In 1921, the work of the Party in non-Great-Russian areas, which had been liberated by the revolution, was directed to these ends: aiding the people in establishing a Soviet system in harmony with their "na-

¹ J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question* (New York: International Publishers, n.d.), pp. 91, 272.

tional character"; organizing courts, and administrative and economic agencies, recruited from the local population, and using its native tongue; establishing schools, clubs, theaters, press and other cultural institutions in the mother-tongue.

The early formulations of Party doctrine respecting racial and national equality became a basic principle of Soviet law. Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reads:

Equality of rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.

By Article 122, "citizen" is applied to women as well as men. According to Article 121, equality of educational opportunity is defined, in part, as consisting of "instruction in schools . . . conducted in the native language. . ."

III

The Peace of Augsburg sought to decide the religious conflict of the day by the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio*. Revolutions of the eighteenth century established the separation of *state* and *religion*, and so promoted freedom of *all religions* within the state. Modern states still linked statehood and nationality however. National, racial minorities might enjoy more or less freedom within a state, but governments were English, French, Italian, German, American; and the dominant culture pattern, especially its language, was generally imposed on minority elements. The Bolshevik revolution separated *state* and *nationality*, thus laying the basis for equality of *all nationalities* within a state, and made solidarity of *workers*, of whatsoever race or nationality, the basic principle of unity. This transition from unity on a religious principle to unity based on nationality, and from nationality to the solidarity of all who labor is one of the most significant of modern trends. Though some regard it as devolution rather than evolution, it evi-

dently describes an ever-widening circle of integration.

The Soviet solution of the national problem was indeed a strange phenomenon in 1917. Many still imagine the U.S.S.R. as an enigma. It was hard to make Soviet reality jibe with nineteenth-century preconceptions. Many were prone to consider all reports of Soviet gains as fiction. They were really weak, disunited; they would crack and disintegrate at the first test. Hitler's error was the greatest and costliest; those of our own news analysts and military experts were second only to his. In short, Soviet citizens did not fight like slaves, as we had pictured them; they did not split into factions, as it was said they would; instead, they gave an exhibition of solidarity that great Western states might envy. If the U.S.S.R. is still a mystery to Americans, Englishmen and others, it is because for twenty-five years the West chose not to study her seriously, and indulged itself in the wildest rumors and speculation that passed for news. It will take some time to liquidate our self-imposed ignorance. Seventy per cent of Americans still do not know that Soviet citizens are allowed to own cars, private houses, or save up money for their individual use. Only 36 per cent know that wide differences exist in wages paid. Only 22 per cent think Russia made most of her war materials.² One wonders when we will grow up and go to school!

Is Soviet national policy only a theory, a party dogma, an article in the Constitution, a fiction, "merely a sham solution of national and especially cultural problems" rather than "a real recognition of national individualities," as a writer stated in 1931?³ Time judges of soundness and unsoundness. What the Bolsheviks have done to translate theory into reality need not be a "mystery wrapped in an enigma." Direct observation (1928, 1929-1930) showed what progress was being made in cultural advancement in White Russia, Ukrainia, Daghestan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, and elsewhere. A considerable literature, appearing since 1930, has dealt more or less extensive-

² W. B. Walsh, "What the American People Think of Russia," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 513 f.

³ M. H. Boehm, "Federalism," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, VI, p. 171.

ly with the development of these and other national minorities.⁴

It has long been commonplace to make deserts blossom like the rose. That the "eternally frozen Arctic"—a great, white expanse of which school geographies used to speak ponderously—might some day bloom like a garden, would have been heresy unthinkable. North of the Arctic Circle, in Kandalaksha and Murmansk, in 1918, there was no thought of growing strawberries. Revisiting the Soviet Union ten years later, however, one found a live interest had developed in this and kindred scientific magic in the newly unfolding life of the Soviet Arctic.

Love of heroic adventure and the fascination of new marvels of science mingle constantly in the war of man against nature in the far north. Arctic wind power has been harnessed to heat greenhouses to produce vegetables and flowers in winter. The long days of continuous sunshine in the short Arctic summer make for rapid, and in some cases more luxuriant growth than in southern latitudes. Cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, cucumbers, tomatoes, onions, radishes, carrots, turnips and potatoes have been grown, some in frames, others in hothouses. Experiments are being made in growing berries, cherries, peaches, apples. Animal husbandry has sought to improve the breeding and care of deer, horned cattle, horses, sheep, swine. At Oimekon, in Yakutia—the cold spot of the world, according to present knowledge—oats, rye, barley have been grown, and experiments have been conducted with wheat culture.

Stefansson notes in *The Arctic in Fact and Fable* that by 1930 "leadership in polar exploration" had passed to the Soviet Union. Utilizing air transport, radio and every other technological advance that can be made to serve its

hand, this leadership has achieved significant results, not only in geography and meteorology, but in agronomy and social reconstruction. The brains of this northward expansion are the Polar Science University and the Institute of Northern Peoples, in Leningrad, and *Glavsevmorput*, the Northern Sea Route Administration, Moscow, all of which have developed under jurisdiction of the Committee of the North, created in 1924. Guided by faith in science which will unlock all mysteries, belief in the right of all peoples, no matter how backward, to cultural opportunity, and that every people, properly enlightened, will add to the strength of the whole Union, these agencies have enlisted in their service a fair share of the intelligence and idealism of the younger generation.

Of the 65,000,000 national minorities population, reported in 1921, the sparsely sprinkled northern nations constitute but a small fraction. Yet they were a Babel of many tongues, unwritten and largely unknown. At the Institute of Northern Peoples, a few years ago, there were over 300 men and women, representatives of 26 tribes or nations of the Soviet northland, who had been selected to study the manifold life of the Union at its very center. They themselves were to be studied by anthropologists and linguists, whose task, in part, was to devise written forms of their tongues, so that books might be prepared and carried back to their localities. Taracouzio (1938) reported 23 newspapers and over 200 bulletin boards in the Soviet Arctic, where none had been before. Between 1925 and 1933, schools increased from 35 to 338, having 10,713 pupils, of whom 60 per cent were native. In 1933 there were 53 clubs, 64 Red Tents (centers of political education), 189 reading-rooms, and 87 traveling motion-picture units. In 1934 there were 18 cultural bases—central cultural establishments, comprising schools, hospitals, veterinary posts, workshops, and other facilities. Literacy of natives knowing Russian is said to have risen from 6.7 per cent in 1926 to 24.9 per cent in 1934. Taracouzio concludes after a critical study⁵ that "... even a partial fulfillment of their (Soviet) ambitions," seen in the light of world conditions, is "one of the out-

⁴ T. Woody, *New Minds: New Men? The Emergence of the Soviet Citizen* (New York, 1932); J. Kunitz, *Dawn over Samarkand* (New York, 1935); E. E. Kisch, *Changing Asia*, Trans. by R. Reil (New York, 1935); H. P. Smolka, *40,000 against the Arctic* (New York, 1937); T. A. Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic* (New York, 1938); R. Gruber, *I Went to the Soviet Arctic* (New York, 1939); N. Mikhailov, *Land of the Soviets*, Trans. by N. Rothstein (New York, 1939); D. Tutaeff, *The Soviet Caucasus* (London, 1942); R. A. Davies and A. J. Steiger, *Soviet Asia* (New York, 1942); V. L. Pomus, *Buriat-Mongolia* (New York, 1943); W. Mandel, *Soviet Far East and Central Asia* (New York, 1944); O. Lattimore, *Solution in Asia* (Boston, 1945), especially chapters V and VI.

⁵ T. A. Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic*, pp. 279, 298, 304, 315.

standing achievements of the post-War period."

Far Eastern and Central Asian Soviet peoples are being metamorphosed economically and culturally in no less spectacular fashion than those of the Northland. Progress seems startling, of course, fundamentally because so little, or nothing at all, had been done before the Revolution. The new regime's accomplishments are chiefly of the past ten to fifteen years. By 1939 almost all children in the Soviet Far East went to school, even those in remotest regions. Elementary education was provided in 6,108 schools for 922,400 pupils. Technical schools enrolled 21,000 students; and 8,900 were in attendance at higher institutions. Education, elementary and higher, was being provided for 25,500 adults. Vladivostok, which had only one higher educational institution in 1913, had four in 1939. In seven large cities—Chita, Blagoveshchensk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Ulan-Ude, Vladivostok, Yakutsk—there were 26 higher educational institutions, with 8,886 students. Among other agencies of culture were 1,962 libraries, 428 newspapers, 41 scientific institutes, 26 museums, 37 theaters, and 1,405 cinemas.

Of Far Eastern peoples probably none have been more profoundly influenced than the Buriat-Mongolians who, though known to the Russian government since the early seventeenth century, remained as undeveloped as were the national resources of their country until two decades ago. Life was nomadic; a wine distillery was the only industry of significance. Spiritual life was dominated by lamas, of whom there was one to every three adults. Today the Buriat Republic has a population of over half a million. Ulan-Ude, its capital city, had a population of 129,417 (1938), served by 523 elementary schools, four higher institutions, 180 public libraries, 30 newspapers, five scientific institutes, three museums, four theaters, 90 cinemas. Buriat-Mongolian industries—among them, railroad shops, meat canneries, flour mills, glass factory, coal and tungsten mines, and a coal-gas plant—have been important feeders to the Eastern Red Army and China during World War II.

From the lower Volga and the Caspian to the Altai and Tien-shan mountains extends a vast territory which makes up the Kazak,

Uzbek, Tadjik, Kirghiz and Turkmen Soviet republics. Once Samarkand ruled Moscow. Now the relationship is reversed. But Stalin's Party has wrought more changes in the heart of Tamerlane's empire than the Golden Horde made in Moscow and on the Volga. Electricity, irrigation and air power are the tools of a transformation which matches that of the Far East and the Arctic. Most widely heralded was the building of the Turk-Sib, completed in 1930, which was to play an important role in bringing supplies to the Red Army of the East and to China. Even then, engineers (some Americans) were busy, planning irrigation projects which were to transform the sun-baked valleys.

Kazakstan has made rapid progress in lead, coal, copper, oil, sugar and textile products. Since Sovietization, her industries have increased twelvefold. Farming has been extensively mechanized and almost wholly collectivized. Uzbekistan's increase of cotton (two-thirds of the Soviet Union's crop), electric power and coal production has been phenomenal, and steel is being produced for the first time. Tadjik industry, which scarcely existed before the coming of the Soviets, was valued at 50,000,000 roubles by 1931. Agricultural gains have also been great.

Notwithstanding imposing material changes, social transformation—measured in terms of education, women's status, sports, care of health—is even more striking and suggests far-reaching consequences. Medical science is displacing sorcery. Tadjikistan had 200 doctors, 61 hospitals, 37 dental clinics, and four medical research centers by 1931. Secular, scientific general education has taken the field once occupied by the mullah's school. The Tadjiks, almost wholly illiterate before the Revolution, had over 2,000 schools with 120,000 pupils by 1931. In a Pamir district, where once five per cent of boys—no girls—learned the Koran, 80 per cent of boys and 15 per cent of girls were attending school two years after the establishment of Soviet rule. In 70 centers a campaign was being waged for the literacy of thousands of men and women. Aesthetically, too, a change is taking place. Old folk-heroes live again in national opera and ballet, such as the Tadjik *Kova the Smith*, the Turkmenian opera *Abadan*, and the Uzbek ballet *Akbilyak*.

The status of women tells much about the level of a society's culture. Where, two decades ago, women were valued at so many pounds of rice, they are now entitled to equality with men. Before the war, a third to one-half of industrial workers were women. Where once no woman dared to walk unless hidden by the forbidding *parandjah*, one sees smiling faces. Industrialization, bobbed hair, and physical sports are incompatible with veils. A girl of Central Asia tells in her note-book how Soviet education led to her emancipation:

We lived in Tashkent. I was eight years old. I had a girl friend, Khuri. She was also eight. She went to the new school. I also wanted very much to go to study with her. But my mamma did not allow me to go to the new school. She said: "Whoever goes to the new school never wears her *parandjah*. And if you go to study you will not wear the *parandjah* either." My brother—he's a Communist—also asked my mamma to send me to school, but she said to him: "Zulfi will get along without study. If she goes to school she will not cover her face." A year passed. After the summer my friend again started to school, but mamma wouldn't let me. Then I said to her: "I am going to my brother; may I?" She shook her head, but let me go. My brother was at work. I went to him. "What do you want, Zulfi?" he said to me. "Help me, please, to go to school," I said fearfully. He took me by the hand and started. We arrived at the school. My brother filled out the information blank. I became a pupil. Mamma scolded me a long time. She even cried. Now she is used to it and herself gets me ready for school.⁶

IV

In bringing education to all national minorities, the Communist government faced many difficulties. The U.S.S.R. is a system of republics within republics. Thus, for example, in the Soviet Union there is the Ukrainian republic, and in Ukraina there is the Moldavian autonomous republic. It is one thing, and a relatively simple one, to establish mother-tongue schools for Ukrainians, Buriats, Tadzhiks, or White Russians; but that does not solve the whole problem. There must also be a

German school for Germans in Moscow, schools for Poles in White Russia, for Jews in Ukraina, for Tartars in Leningrad, and for other national minorities in whatsoever republic they may be found sufficiently numerous to justify a school. For example, in Kazan *Gubernia* there are Tartar, Chuvash, Udmurt, Mordovian, Mari, and Russian schools.

Besides the task of creating new written forms for some tongues, there is the increased expense of printing texts in many languages, and the provision of teachers who know the tongue and are at the same time competent to teach. In early years some of these difficulties were at times insurmountable, as the writer learned from personal observation. For a Russian professor of science to learn Ukrainian, or a central Asian language, so as to be able to deliver his lectures, was time-consuming at best, and sometimes impossible. He might practice the language at odd hours and gain competence in it. If not, one make-shift was to employ a native assistant to repeat the lectures in the local vernacular after the professor had given them in his own idiom. Some teachers would doubtless have preferred to devote the time spent on a minority language to further study in their own fields of science.

For pupils, too, the language burden is great. Though taught in their own tongue in the early years of the Labor school, pupils in a Polish school in Ukraina, for example, will have to learn Ukrainian—the official language of that republic; Russian—the official language of the entire Union; and a western language, generally English or German, which is part of the Labor school curriculum. To foreign investigators or students of Soviet institutions, too, the use of each minority's language for its official publications is an obstacle of some significance, though important documents or books may be made available in Russian as well. These difficulties, though great, are being overcome. One of them—that of trained, competent teachers—disappears when vernacular schools have functioned long enough to prepare native cadres.

The Soviet solution of the minority nationalities problem was viewed with misgivings by some and ridiculed by others. It was judged merely a point of propaganda to promote the revolution. The Bolsheviks undoubtedly understood the value of this appeal to oppressed

⁶T. Woody, *New Minds: New Men? The Emergence of the Soviet Citizen*, pp. 382 f.

peoples. Again, it was decried as a clever device, looking to Russification, since learning Russian sooner or later becomes necessary for all who advance in Soviet schools. Some argued its certain failure, for it would serve to divide peoples rather than unify them. Perhaps oneness of language has been overvalued as a unifying force. Though schools, books, and theaters in the mother-tongue do further a certain diversification of national cultures along some lines, they are an effective, direct instrument of unification through a common political, social philosophy. Stalin spoke of Soviet culture as nationalist in form, proletarian and socialist in content. Perhaps content is a more effective determiner than form.

There should be no doubt as to the real hold of the Soviet nationalities policy upon the multitudinous peoples of the old imperial domain. It has brought them enlightenment by the easiest, most natural path, has given them an opportunity to develop their own culture, and has made it possible for them to know that of the rest of the world. Books and newspapers are an index of the vast effort made to reach a multilingual society. Books (1940) numbered 44,000 titles, published in 111 languages, with a total of 700,000,000 copies. Newspapers (1940) numbered 9,000, published in 70 languages, having a circulation of 38,000,000. Jews, Finns, White Russians, Poles, Ukrainians seemed to me especially apt to appreciate the significance of this phase of the "new life"; but there were others. Finns, laborers who once lived in the States, told me: "In America we were not equal. Here, we have our own language and feel the school is ours." Americans who fought a war and liberated Negroes from slavery should have no difficulty in understanding that the sentiment of Lebedev-Kumach's "Song of the Motherland"—with us all are comrades, black or white—has real meaning for many little peoples of the Soviet Union:

*From Moscow to the border
From the mountains to the sea
Man goes forth as master
Of his vast motherland.*

The ultimate potentialities of the Soviet policy towards national minority cultures are still to be unfolded. On one hand is the possibility of a resurgence of Great-Russian chauvinism, a danger to which Stalin and other

Party men have alluded from time to time. Similarly, the development of chauvinism among the minority peoples themselves has not been overlooked as a possibility, against which a vigilant watch must be kept. Just as there is a survival of Great-Power chauvinism, there are also the remnants of age-old anti-Semitism. The Pan-Slavic movement, publicly active since August 10, 1941, when the first meeting was held, began publishing *Slavyanie*, July, 1942. The point of greatest importance, one surmises, is not that the Bolsheviks may fail in their fight against racial exclusiveness, but that they have sought consistently and energetically to eradicate national, social distrust and hatred, anti-Semitism and its kindred isms—in accord with the fundamental law of the land—and have so far met with such a measure of success. Still the struggle goes on. Stalin's statement of war aims, November 6, 1942, emphasized abolition of race exclusiveness, equality of nations, liberation of enslaved nations, and the right of peoples to arrange their own affairs.

Beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, especially in neighboring states, her nationalities policy may have far-reaching consequences. The Soviet system is itself a federation of nations, flexible and capable of growth, as is to be seen in Molotov's *Report to the Supreme Soviet*, February 1, 1944, granting treaty-making and military-defense powers to the sixteen Union republics. The press of great capitalist powers was quick to read in this "mere window-dressing for the outside world" or a move to justify a future demand for "separate representation" of the "autonomous states" in whatever world organization might emerge. The U.S.S.R. saw it as a "... great expansion of the activities of the Union Republics which has become possible as a result of their political, economic and cultural growth. . . . a result of their national development . . . a new, important step in the practical solution of the national problem in the multinational Soviet state. . . ."

While there is no reason to think that the sixteen republics will be entirely independent in the exercise of these functions, the move reflects confidence in the unity and loyalty of the republics to the whole Union. Instead of being a mere "quickie," cooked up to garner

sixteen votes in an international organization, it has a deeper, more weighty meaning. Instead of being a retreat from the Soviet national minority principle, it seems rather a progressive extension and application of it. The U.S.S.R. has been, since 1922, a Union of Socialist Republics. Carefully avoiding the designation "Russian," and offering each nation equality of economic and cultural opportunities, the door was left open to any people that might wish to join, accepting the basic social and political principles of the Union's government. The cultural developments that many minority peoples have experienced as members of the Union have given it a certain power of attraction to others. Such an extension of powers as the *Report* proposed (even if not absolute independence) will certainly be fully appreciated inside the Union; it may be expected to enhance the pulling power of the Union upon neighboring states.

To anyone who can see the two world wars as events in a vast revolution, as yet incomplete, the most important aspect of the present conflict is the reconstruction that will take place in Europe and the East. The war will have settled nothing; but it will have set problems to be solved. The real victory will be political, social, economic, not military. The advantage will lie with those who have a positive, constructive policy to bring to stricken, devastated peoples. Some Western leaders have talked grandly of this as a "peoples' war," but, by their actions, they seem to fear it, and make no appeal to the common people whom they liberate.

Soviet policy has been different, seeking constantly for friendly elements out of which new governments may be established. As early as October 8, 1941, a conference was held with German war prisoners. The Free German Committee, the Polish Committee, and the Lublin government, close ties with Tito, the Soviet-Czech treaty—all reveal how closely knit are the Soviet war effort and political reconstruction. This, plus the Soviet success for a quarter of a century in solving economic problems, the leadership and unity of all her peoples in defense against an enemy that had not been beaten and was generally getting credit for being unconquerable, may well incline many

peoples of Europe and Asia to view the Soviet Union as a regenerative, organizing force in their affairs. Conspicuous failures of Western efforts in Italy, Belgium, Greece, after conquest; appeasement of Franco and other Fascist-Nazi elements throughout the war; the recent, all-out effort on behalf of Argentina at San Francisco; courting of the House of Savoy and other outworn remnants of a decadent European order; and the negativism which marks British and American efforts so far in respect to Germany—are not likely to inspire confidence on the part of Europe's suffering millions of common people. They suffer by comparison with Soviet constructive measures.

It is the easiest thing in the world to find fault with Soviet methods and policies. The paper battle concerning them is fought energetically by daily columnists and commentators. But starving Europeans will find little nourishment in their offering. Speedy, effective address to the problems of food, shelter, the rebuilding of industry and agriculture, so that these peoples may again find life tolerable, will weigh more heavily with them than arguments on freedom of the press, parliamentary procedures, legality in punishment of war criminals, fraternizing versus non-fraternization, plans for re-educating Germans to make them good democrats, and other matters to which Westerners are prone to give much time.

European civilization is dying for lack of unity. What principle have Britain and the United States to offer beyond the age-old Balance of Power which has led to nothing but preparation for new wars, leading in turn to destruction, impoverishment and despair, greater than before? What hope is there for Europe, or for that bedeviled, small part of it, the Balkans, the so-copious, bubbling spring of fratricidal conflicts, from Balance of Power formulae? When old physicians blunder, intelligent patients try new ones. People may think better about physical than they do about political, economic ills. Yet some who have suffered repeatedly from the prescriptions of Dr. B. O. Powers may, perhaps, be moved to take a trial bottle of Father Joe's National Remedy.

Revised Historical Viewpoints

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PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON, HARBINGER OF FASCISM¹

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born in poverty in 1809. His father was a cooper. As a boy he worked on a farm and in the local inn at Besancon. The lack of money interrupted his studies at Besancon College where he had a scholarship. He became a printer, a writer at Paris, and then the owner of a printing shop at Besancon which failed. In 1847 he returned to Paris as a writer and publicist. Here he remained until his death in 1865. He was self-educated but not disciplined or scholarly. He claimed the Bible, Adam Smith and Hegel as the inspiration of his philosophy. He espoused a society of the small businessman or master-worker. He was essentially conservative, but a forerunner of the Fascist revolution—not a reactionary, or social revolutionary espousing democracy. In his time he was not properly understood, for he was persecuted by the government as a revolutionist supporting socialism and denounced by liberals and social revolutionaries. They felt he was with them but not of them.²

This lack of support was apparent in 1848 when as a member of the Chamber of Deputies he voted against the socialist resolution proclaiming the right to work. His two earlier books, published in 1840, declaring the possession of property to be theft had led to the belief that he favored such a resolution. He voted against the constitution establishing the Second Republic on the ground that he did not believe in political constitutions. He was against so-

ciety as constituted at that time, but was also opposed to socialism as a substitute. His theory of anarchy was not what modern anarchosyndicalists have assumed it to be or what its enemies supposed it to be. He criticized Louis Napoleon in 1849, an offense for which he was imprisoned for three years. On his release he wrote a book extolling Louis Napoleon's overthrow of the Second Republic as a great step of progress. In 1858 he attacked the Church for which his arrest was ordered. He fled into exile in Brussels where he remained three years.

Proudhon was a voluminous and forceful writer, though so obscure in thought that he was misunderstood by capitalists and socialists alike. Only his scheme for a bank of exchange to establish free credit was clearly outlined. He admitted that he had denounced the conservatives, capitalists, liberals and socialists and lamented the fact that no one understood him. Throughout his writings appear overtones which now become understandable by a generation acquainted with the ideology of Fascism.

Proudhon was of course influenced by his times; he did not live in a vacuum. In 1830 the government of Louis Philippe represented an aristocracy of money: wealthy merchants, factory-owners and bankers. Its constitutional propertied qualifications for suffrage excluded the land-owning aristocrats and the workers. Such, for example, was the opinion of Alexis de Tocqueville. Opposition to this capitalist aristocracy came from the smaller capitalists and workers. The former as shopkeepers and skilled artisans working in their own shops and factories were master-workers who feared the growth of large-scale capitalism. The workers employed by them, or by large-scale capitalists, bitterly attacked both kinds of capitalists. Large-scale capitalism with its machines and banks to finance their activities had superior means of competition to liquidate small capitalists.

¹ Salwyn Schapiro, "Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbinger of Fascism," *American Historical Review*, L (July 1945), 714-737.

² Professor Schapiro acknowledges the assistance given to him by Dr. Henry W. Ehrmann in doing the research for this article. The sources were chiefly the published works of Proudhon and the various biographies of him. Some interpretations of his philosophy were obtained from the recent writings of some publicists in France and Nazi Germany.

The small-scale capitalists were caught between expanding capitalism and revolutionary socialism. The richer capitalist was disliked as a competitor and envied as a rich member of their class. As most workingmen were employed in small shops and factories it was the small employer who was under the constant pressure to make concessions to workers, many of whom wanted socialism and not merely better wages or hours. The problem of the small capitalists was how to preserve their system against their economic enemies: big business and revolutionary socialism. These problems agitated Proudhon. His solutions were expressed in writings which were hazy, puzzling and exasperating.

When he said that "property was theft" he did not mean all capital, or capitalism, but only large-scale capitalism which functioned through rent, interest and profit without direct manual labor. This property, Proudhon and the socialists felt, received an unearned income because of ownership of a wealth producing estate or business. Proudhon distinguished between good and bad capital, or property, in his *Theory of Property*. Good property was "possession populaire," that is, the ownership of one's own farm or shop, wherein a man by his own manual labor produced his own wealth. "Possession" was the private ownership of the instruments of production without the unearned income received by the functionless rentier. Proudhon justified property only if it were universalized by individual ownership. He opposed capitalism as a property system since in his opinion it was "industrial feudalism." He would overthrow it by a peaceful revolution. This he would accomplish by a change in the financial system which would give credit to anyone who asked for it. His anti-capitalism was based on an indictment of capitalism as a system of exchange which functioned through the gold standard, the Bank of France and the stock exchange. He said economic life was controlled by a privileged monopolistic capitalism through its control of credit. This system would be toppled by a revolution "par le credit."

Proudhon advocated a Bank of Exchange (Peoples Bank) to replace the Bank of France. It would have no subscribed capital, no stockholders, and no gold reserve. It would pay no

interest, or charge any, except for a nominal fee for overhead. It would universalize the bill of exchange by facilitating the exchange of goods between producers and consumers through exchange notes instead of money. Its notes would be based on actual business values, not on specie or land. Such free credit would create an economic order more free, enterprising and more productive than capitalism. Private enterprise would remain and competition would continue to regulate market prices. This would create a classless society without violence. It would be a small-scale capitalist society apparently without a working class separate from ownership. Every man would be his own capitalist in the sense that he owned land or tools of production.

Proudhon denounced working class movements more bitterly than he denounced big capitalism. He was opposed to trade unionism and the right to strike. He denounced universal suffrage and other political forms of democracy as they were the "idea of the state extended indefinitely." He hated democracy which disgusted him. His vilification has only been reached by Fascists of our own day. He had nothing but contempt for the common man. Big capitalists, peasants and proletarians were all without worth in his opinion. He declared that the mass of people needed a dictator because they were incapable of intelligent action. Only a few thousand élite possessed virtues entitling them only to be considered as humanity. His repudiation of political democracy arose from his hatred of government. He advocated economic government to replace political government. Though not clearly expressed, economic government appears to be a system of mutualism consisting in each industry of voluntary autonomous associations of producers with the object of exchanging commodities. Production would be individual and not collective as under capitalism or socialism. Social relations would be based on voluntary contracts and not on coercive laws. Competition, declared Proudhon, would be healthful under this system and not chaotic or destructive as under capitalism; thus there would be avoided both the individualism of capitalism and the collectivism of socialism with regard to ownership.

Mutualism, however, would be somewhat

political since it would be based on the federalism of autonomous economic associations headed by a central council to regulate the common affairs, such as transportation, credit, insurance, defense, etc. All classes would thus fuse into one, the *class moyenne*. His blurred blueprint for the most part outlawed government from the social order. Proudhon hailed the coup d'état of December 2, 1852 by Louis Napoleon as the forerunner of a new order. He appealed to republicans and socialists to support Louis Napoleon whose dictatorship would lead all to a classless society and to Utopia. One party should swallow all others and represent the *classe moyenne* and the proletariat. Napoleon paid no attention to this philosophy or to Proudhon's personal appeals. Thereupon, Proudhon denounced him as having betrayed the revolution into the hands of the big capitalists. He declared that Louis handed over "our souls to the Jesuits . . . and our patrimony to the Jews."

Frequent anti-Semitic utterances appeared in his writings denouncing the Jews as the bulwark of feudalism capitalism. He identified the capitalists with the bankers and the latter with the Jews, the three of whom he said constituted "an unholy trinity." His hatreds led him to denounce the Negro as racially inferior and to favor the South in the American Civil War. His peculiar biological views led him to glorify war in his *War and Peace*. Man by instinct was a warrior animal and war made for progress. Death on the battlefield was noble. His praise of war, of dictatorship, and his championship of small capitalism were in-

tegral parts of his philosophy. Like many militarists he opposed the emancipation of women and declared that their place was in the home for the raising of warriors.

It is apparent that Proudhon's philosophy has been misunderstood. He was not a champion of democracy in any form, or of revolutionary socialism, whether considered as constituting democracy or as a substitute for it. He was not a champion of revolutionary anarchosyndicalism nor was he a reactionary as royalists claim for he did not desire the return of the Old Régime. He was the "harbinger of Fascism," the first to call for revolution against big capitalism and socialism. His ideas have been taken up, in recent years, by French collaborationists and German Nazis. He opposed working-class movements from hostility to workers as a separate class interest. He was concerned with labor's welfare only when it would join the small capitalists in their fights against big capitalists. His hatred of democracy, peace, the emancipation of women, labor, the Negro and the Jew, and his advocacy of dictatorship made him the forerunner of Fascism. Conditions in his time did not call forth the concept of a totalitarian corporative state, though he did advocate a dictatorship of the mass of small capitalists with a strong mutual federalism to protect itself against the big capitalists and the working class. Proudhon's place in history must be re-evaluated, declares Professor Schapiro, in the light of the world revolution through which we are passing.

Sleighs of Old Switzerland

E. BRINER

New York City

In the Swiss Alpine regions sleighs have since the earliest days been as necessary a means of transportation as hand-carts and wagons. A sturdy type of sleighs is used by lumbermen in winter to carry newly cut wood from the mountain forests down into the valleys. A lighter type vehicle serves Alpine

peasants in summer to take the fragrant hay over steep slopes into their barns. In Swiss winter resorts the hotel porters make extensive use of farmers sleds to carry the luggage of guests to and from the station. The very sight of an accumulation of these ancient vehicles is intriguing, especially if it happens to be in

one of the ultramodern resorts.

Aside from its display of old-time sleighs and carriages, the Heimat Museum at Davos contains a heavy and extra long bobsleigh made of iron, such as used to be customary for big international bobsleigh races. Due to the remarkable development of skiing in recent decades sleighing events which formerly were the main feature of the Swiss winter season have lost some of their importance. Today the imposing ski-jumping platforms arouse the admiration of spectators as much as the daring curves of a bobsleigh or toboggan run did thirty years ago.

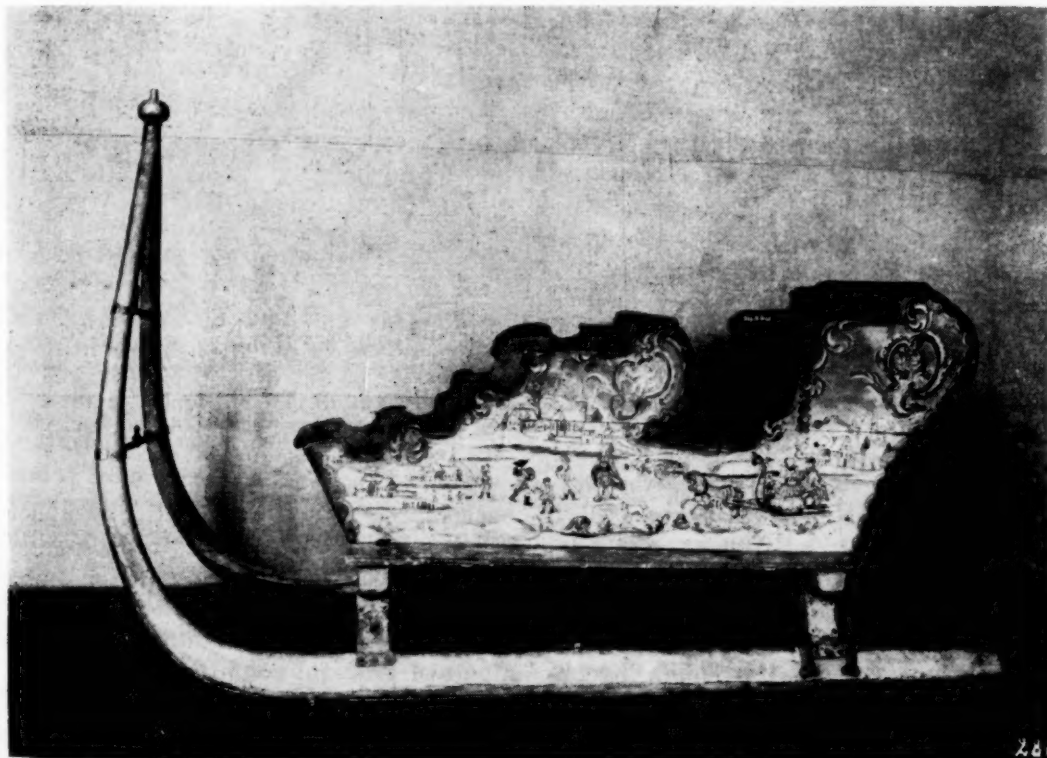
But although the triumphs of the sleigh have nowadays been somewhat obscured by the far-sweeping popularity of the ski, the youth of Switzerland still enjoys its sleigh rides. In olden times festive excursions by sleigh were the chief distraction in winter, both of well-to-do city dwellers and farmers.

It must have been a jolly sight to watch a whole caravan of horse-drawn sleighs, with merrily tinkling bells, swiftly gliding through

the wintry landscape from one village to the other. Rare specimens of the artistic sleighs used on those occasions are still to be seen in old Engadine homes, in the Grisons, and above all in historical museums of Swiss cities.

Old-time sleigh-riding parties have even found a place in Swiss literature. The distinguished Gottfried Keller, for instance, described such an outing in his novel *Kleider Machen Leute*. Incidentally, this book happens to be one of the best in Keller's splendid series of novels *Die Leute von Seldwyla*. At that time each single sleigh bore the name of the house in which its owner lived. These names were displayed on the tall and slender forward part of the vehicle by means of woodcarved and painted figures.

In the eighteenth century an artistically adorned sleigh was an essential possession of every better class Swiss home. Today some of these masterpieces are contained in the Swiss National Museum at Zurich, in the Historical Museums of Basle and Berne, and in other historical collections.



The paintings on this eighteenth century vehicle, now in the Swiss National Museum at Zurich, depict the delights of the winter season.

Swiss National Museum, Zurich



Swiss National Museum, Zurich

This photograph shows a quaint eighteenth century vehicle now on display in the Swiss National Museum, Zurich. Carvings in front of seat depict a musician and his dog; a bagpiper crowns the top of the bow.

One type of these sleighs features a high and narrow bench, built lengthwise with adequate foot-rests, and accommodating from two to four persons. An ornamental figure, carved in wood, and richly gilt and painted, usually adorned the front end of the sleigh bench, while another striking figure was enthroned high up on the bow.

A still more luxurious type of sleigh consisted of a form of coach seating one or two persons. Here the passengers occupied the

back of the vehicle in beautifully upholstered, arm-chair-like seats. All the glory of wood sculpture was concentrated in the forepart of the sleigh, where either a fierce lion, a horse, a bull, a deer, a dog, a fantastic griffin, or even a pair of graceful dolphins held sway.

These vehicles de luxe were used for festive sleigh riding parties, such as the still existing "Schlittedass" in the Engadine, where ancient costumes worn by most participants add a colorful touch to a captivating picture.

Semantics and the Social Studies

FRANK SELETZ

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WHAT IS SEMANTICS?

Semantics has been variously defined as the science of symbols; the scientific inquiry into the causes of verbal misunderstanding; the science of making language more expressive. All are correct but incomplete. Whole books have been devoted to answering the question: "What is semantics?" But at the present time there is only a general agreement.¹ Exploration of modern semantics is comparatively new and therefore limited.² The elusive nature of the subject does not easily lend itself to definition, but instead requires lengthy explanation and demonstration to be understood. Representing a growing school of critical thought and attitude toward words, semantics, as is true of all new ideas, supplements but more often conflicts with older and more generally accepted attitudes.

The word is derived from the Greek *seman-tikos* meaning "significant," and from *semain-ein* which means "to signify" or "to mean." Applied to the science of communication, the etymology of the word places a further responsibility upon the student of semantics other than the accepted manner of studying words, i.e. consulting the dictionary to improve one's vocabulary. He must recognize that words are not objects, but symbols or labels of objects. Therefore, the power of speech, while showing a familiarity with labels, is not an indication of either intelligence or understanding. He must learn that to have real meaning, words must have context. A word by itself conveys no real meaning; only in association with other words can real meaning be obtained. However as many as 85 per cent of the words in a paragraph can be changed without altering the meaning of the paragraph.³ This evidence will show the student of seman-

tics that dictionary definitions are limited to their historical use and lack functional characteristics. It is only in its use that a word has meaning beyond its historical definition.⁴

Hugh Walpole, in his readable book *Semantics*, notes that while the student of semantics studies words, and questions the validity of language, he inquires deeper into the language than the meaning of words by questioning the meaning of *meaning*. Walpole regards present semantics as an exploration, not a science, which rewards its students with a "skill" rather than a body of subject matter. This skill is expressed in the awareness of both the importance of context and the practice of multiple definition. The semantic awareness will provide the student with a better understanding of what he hears and reads. He will talk and write more effectively and think more accurately.

Semantic investigators agree that the two most obvious sins of language are the identification of *words* with *things* and the misuse of abstract words. To explain this criticism, Ogden and Richards turn from the use of words to a diagram, showing the process of extracting words from things.⁵ As do workers in all specialized fields, they use special terminology. The writer, living near a railroad, often hears train whistles. These whistles are the outside stimuli that cause him to connect the sound with a past experience. However, if he had no previous experience with train whistles, the sound would have no meaning for him. The object or thing that the outside stimuli bring to his mind is called the "referent" by Ogden and Richards and they

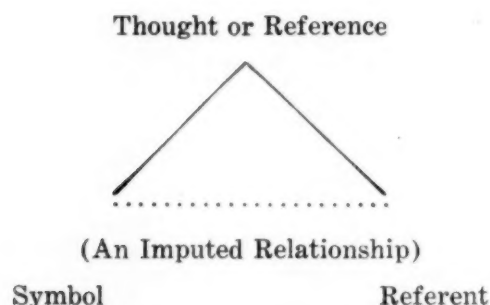
¹ S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941) contains an interesting and understandable chapter concerning context and dictionary relationships.

² C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938. Fifth Edition).

³ This may be verified by consulting the tables of contents of books concerning semantics.

⁴ The word semantics appeared in 1900.

⁵ Hugh Walpole, *Semantics* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1941), p. 109.



name the thought, reflection, or reaction caused by past experience with the referent, "reference." To complete the semantic triangle the writer must name or label his thoughts in order to communicate them. This results in the formation of words or groups of words which the triangle calls "symbol"; in the writer's case, the symbol or verbal label to his thoughts or reference would be "train."

Since *the triangle has no base*, no direct connection exists between the referent and the symbol. There is only an indirect or imputed connection based on the past experiences of the speaker and the listener, who can only be in agreement when both concur on the same referent. If a common referent cannot be found and agreed upon, words become mere noise-makers and are meaningless. This, in part, explains the misuse of abstract words. The failure to use the same referent with similar references and symbols results in useless verbalization, or symbols that have no possible basis for mutual understanding.

The general semantics or "non-Aristotelian" system of thought of Count Alfred Korzybski concerns itself with lingual structure.⁶ The language inherited from our primitive ancestors has an entirely different structure from our modern world. But to be scientific, language must correspond to the physical structure of objects. Korzybski contends that our doctrines and institutions reflect this unnatural alliance unfavorably when he says:

As words are not the objects which they represent, *structure, and structure alone*, becomes the only link which connects our verbal processes with the empirical data. To

⁶ Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics* (Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press Printing Company, 1933).

achieve adjustment and sanity and the conditions which follow from them, we must study structural characteristics of this world *first*, and, then only, build languages of similar structure instead of habitually ascribing to the world the primitive structure of our language. All our doctrines, institutions, depend on verbal arguments. If these arguments are conducted in a language of wrong and unnatural structure, our doctrines and institutions must reflect that linguistic structure and so become unnatural and inevitably lead to disasters.⁷

The only language that can adequately fulfill this demand is the language of mathematics. However, mathematics has serious limits as a means of communication, so Korzybski offers as a substitute his "Structural Differential," a diagram of language conforming closely to the physical structure of objects. Both Korzybski and Stuart Chase use a pencil to explain the "Structural Differential."⁸

The highest level on the diagram is the "space-time event" which consists of a mass of dancing electrons. The second or "object" level ("referent" to Ogden and Richards) is non-verbal, but recognizable as something familiar in our past experience. At the third level, a label is given to the object. The verbal label or word is "pencil." At the fourth level on the diagram, the pencil is given descriptions or characteristics that are of particular interest to us. From the description, inferences and abstractions may be drawn which constitute the next level and from the first finite abstractions, we can continue to draw infinite inferences and abstractions. Thus, pencils can become part of the term "economic goods," or part of the term "western culture." In this manner we can tell at which level of language we are talking in relationship to the referent or object.

The general semantics of Korzybski, which is a system of thinking that rejects the existing prejudicial or "Aristotelian" dogmatic reactions toward words, actions, and appearances, should not be confused with the semantics of Ogden and Richards, which deals with mean-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸ Stuart Chase, *The Tyranny of Words* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938).

ings and is currently finding application in Basic English.

Although semanticists do not entirely agree on the scope or content of semantics, they agree on two main points. First, that an awareness and use of semantics will make the user think more clearly, since he will not be as easily influenced or deceived by words. Secondly, he will be better able to express himself by realizing that words used to convey meaning must have referents.

BRIEF HISTORY OF SEMANTICS

Semantics is very old. From the writings of Aristotle, Plato, and Zeno, among others, there is much evidence showing that these men recognized the limitations of formal logic. They knew that facts could be disfigured and absurd conclusions reached by its uncontrolled use.

From the time of the ancient Greek contributions until the death of Jeremy Bentham in 1882, when the basis of modern semantics appeared, numerous scientific and philosophical writings contained contributions to language study. William of Occan, Roger Bacon, Francis Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Kant, Hegel, and Schopenhauer are but a few such writers. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) in his *Of Man, Being the First Part of Leviathan*, for example, discussed the four abuses of language when he wrote:

First, when men register their thoughts wrong, by the inconstancy of the signification of their words—by which they register for their conceptions that which they never conceived, and so deceive themselves. Secondly, when they use words metaphorically, that is, in other sense than that they are ordained for; and thereby deceive others. Thirdly, when by words, they declare that to be their will which is not. Fourthly, when they use them to grieve one another. Nature hath armed living creatures, some with teeth, some with horns, and some with hands, to grieve an enemy; it is but an abuse of speech to grieve him with the tongue, unless it be one whom we are obliged to govern; and then it is not to grieve but to correct and amend.⁹

⁹ Thomas Hobbes, *Of Man, Being the First Part of Leviathan* (1661), published in *The Harvard Classics* XXXIV (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1910), p. 337.

Much of modern semantics is based on Jeremy Bentham's *Theory of Fictions*. The core of this work concerns the reducing of abstractions to the most simple words and fundamental pictures possible, in order to understand their meaning or to prove them meaningless. Ogden and Richards give Bentham appropriate credit for inspiring their book.

The word "semantics" however, did not appear until 1900 when Michel Breal's *Essai de sémantique*, written in 1897, was translated into English. Semantics as a science was created in 1923 with the publication of *The Meaning of Meaning* by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards. This book, addressed to the trained minds, was the first attempt to improve scientifically the mechanics of language in order to make it more specific. It is currently being applied in the study and improvement of Basic English. Alfred Korzybski's *Science and Sanity*, published in 1933 established him with Ogden and Richards as one of the leading semantic investigators. He was also responsible for the First American Congress for General Semantics, held at Ellensburg, Washington in March, 1935, and the Second American Congress on General Semantics, held at the University of Denver during March, 1941.¹⁰ He is the founder and director of the Institute of General Semantics in Chicago which he started in 1938.

Of particular interest to the social studies instructor are Thurman Arnold's *The Folklore of Capitalism*, which appeared in 1935, and Norman H. Hinton's Ph.D. thesis at Columbia, *Political Semantics*, published in 1941. Also of interest to the teacher is the fact that some colleges are offering courses in semantics.¹¹ Three readable books written expressly for the layman rather than the scientifically trained person are *Semantics* by Hugh Walpole, *Language In Action* by S. I. Hayakawa, and Stuart Chase's *The Tyranny of Words*. For those reading German, a number of books are available in the United States although the war

¹⁰ *Time* August 14, 1941, p. 32.

¹¹ Charles I. Glicksburg, "The Educational Implications of Semantics," *School Review*, XLIX (December, 1941), 744-753.

stopped work on semantics in Europe, particularly in Germany.

SEMANTICS IN THE CLASSROOM

All teachers who, in recognition of the principle of individual differences, are thoughtful and careful in their choice of words, may be called semanticists. This is particularly true in the field of the social studies because the teacher must contend with preconditioned emotional reactions on the part of the students to a greater degree than teachers of other subjects. A discussion of existing social and economic problems will bring different reactions from students of various backgrounds, little of which is based on an impartial analysis of the facts. Professor Boas in one of his best known lectures declares that one of the basic weaknesses of language is the fact that people become emotionally excited and angry, not at people, facts, or institutions but at *words*.¹² Such words as Jew, Polack, Yankee, Catholic and Protestant are but a few of the words which often arouse hate, but the meaning in the mind of the hearer has no relation to the actual meaning of the words. A semantic awareness on the part of the teacher can do much to alleviate and correct this misguided condition.

In order to apply semantic principles to everyday teaching, the instructor must be constantly aware of four factors. The first is that students are victims of "word magic." Words can be used to make wrong seem right; they can be manipulated to conceal unpleasant facts and make them seem pleasant; they can show bad intentions to be favorable. From childhood, when the words of fairy tales fascinate one, words, to the average person, are mystic symbols that can work wonders. The teacher should give the student a critical analysis of the real value of words which in turn will guide his thought and speech in directions based on independent thinking. Then the student is apt to discover that groups hearing names as "Christian," "American," and "labor" may be opposite of that which their titles indicate.

¹² Ralph P. Boas, "Weasels and Chameleons," *Education*, LXIV (January, 1944), 259-264.

He may realize that he must closely question the assumptions upon which most of his answers to questions are based.

Second, the teacher must note that while meanings may be kept the same, connotations can be changed by the selection of words. Instead of bombing each other, allied planes thunder across the channel and hammer the enemy, while German planes sneak across the channel and drop explosives. In considering such terms as "great victories" and "disengaging action," it is important to analyze the information upon which meanings and the resulting connotations are based.

Third, the social studies teacher, in particular, must re-examine the principles laid down by our founding fathers. They have become so much a part of our lives that we are apt to take them for granted. In view of our rapidly changing world, the time has arrived to re-examine them in the light of present conditions—some to be reaffirmed, some to be discarded, and others to be replaced or revised. Principles to be scientific and workable must be kept abreast of the times since history never repeats itself. Too often high sounding phrases are repeated to cover less noble deeds; too often are we as a nation anxious to support the principles rather than the facts.

Fourth, the social studies teacher must realize that the student who lives the life of a good citizen is superior to the student who defines and talks at length on such terms as "democracy" and "liberty," but who does not practice the ideas they embody. The ability to juggle words is not necessarily an indication of intelligence or the ability to solve actual situations. Nor is the ability to repeat the words of a generalized textbook an indication of the understanding of the true facts. The teacher must see that the students use the referent-reference side of the Ogden and Richards' triangle, rather than the reference-symbol side which deals with words rather than things. The closer the student is to the referent, the closer he is to the truth.

Visual and Other Aids

D. E. GIBSON

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The growing interdependence of different areas of the curriculum in the community school program makes it imperative that every educational facility be explored. In the total picture, social studies is especially important because it cuts across so many subject matter fields. For example, it is not logical to think of a pupil's development in mathematics without significant consideration of the social relationships implied.

Teaching aids make it more nearly possible to meet the individual needs of the student, for while some learn best through sight, some learn best through hearing, others perhaps learn through a combined process. The traditional technique of classroom instruction is largely auditory and therefore does not meet the needs of all students.

To justify expenditure of public funds for auditory and visual teaching aids, the schools must be ready to assure the maximum use of these "aids." Assuming that one individual has been given the full responsibility for the audio-visual aids program, the fundamental requisite is a completely informed teaching staff, for only the actual production in the classroom has any real value.

The classroom teacher is like the faucet on the pipeline. Even a ten-inch line cannot deliver quantity if the faucet is partially or completely closed. The teaching staff must know *what, when, where* and *how*. *What*—material can be had; *when*—such material is available; *where*—the "Aids" are to be used; and *how*—such teaching aid service is to be obtained. To achieve an "informed" staff, a certain amount of printed material should be provided. At least three classifications are essential. Effective use has been made of: *First*, an annual release from the central administrative office to all teachers. This newsletter, or informative bulletin, should take care of the *what* and the *how* for the teaching staff and should appear in the opening weeks of school. The format of the following release which was used in a com-

paratively small school might be of interest.

..... Schools
Newsletter No.
Central Office

I INTRODUCTION

The September 6 planning session suggested a listing of services, material and equipment available for use in audio-visual aids. The supervisor of audio-visual aids has prepared for our use the following information as to available equipment and service. The value of this program is in direct proportion to how well acquainted you become with advances in the field of teaching aids.

II EQUIPMENT AVAILABLE

Three Sound Projectors (16 mm)
One Silent Projector (16 mm)
One Strip Film Projector
(35 mm and 2½ in. slides)
One Portable Public Address System
One Opaque (Lantern Slide) Projector
(3¼ x 4 in. Slides)
One Transcription Play-Back
(33 & 78 R.P.M.)
One Portable Radio-Phono. Comb.
Two Recordios

Radio Room Equipment, including Public Address, Phonograph Play-Back, Radio (AM and FM) Recording and general studio use.

The loud speaker in your room is in reality a combination radio, phonograph and public address system.

Any radio program standard broadcast or FM can be heard in your classroom.

Any recording, standard speed or 33 speed transcriptions up to 16 in. can be played.

Any student participation program may be rehearsed in the studio and auditioned in the teacher's room.

III MATERIAL AVAILABLE

(School Owned)

A. Films—Motion Picture Film Sets
1 Farm
2 City Home
... 47 Pacific Islands

- ... 48 Australia
- Motion Picture—School Produced
- 1 Cycle Safety
- 2 Elementary Summer Program
- Film Strips
- 1 Air Transportation
- 2 American Counterpoint
- ... 25 World and Two Wars
- 26 Pro-Flight Training Kit

B. Recordings

Albums

- 1 Masterpieces of Literature (Poetry Appreciation) Vol. No. 1
- 2 Masterpieces of Literature (Great) Vol. No. 3
- ... 15 Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory (Helen Hayes)
- ... 16 Gettysburg Address (Raymond Massey)

Single Records

- 1 Death of the Hired Man (Robert Frost) Parts I and II ... etc.

IV MATERIALS AVAILABLE (Loan)

A. Ohio Slide & Film Exchange Catalog

B. Educational Film Catalog

C. Recordings for School Use Catalog

Note: These catalogs and others are on display at the Central and Visual Aids Offices.

V PROCEDURE TO OBTAIN SERVICES

For convenience of teachers and operators, an "Audio-Visual Aids" request blank has been prepared and copies will be on hand in the high school office, the elementary office and in the visual aids office. Sample blank is shown below. Completed blanks may be placed in collection box or sent to visual aids office. For last minute changes, in use of the studio or studio equipment, the completed blank or note should be sent direct to the control room.

To keep everyone informed, a weekly bulletin will list all films available for a ten-day period. Special films will be summarized and special radio programs will be listed.

AUDIO AIDS

Room No. requests use of Studio (), Phonograph Recording (), Radio Program (), Public Address System (), for

Date

at Further Instructions
Time

Teacher

VISUAL AIDS

Class requests Sound Projector (), Silent Projector (), Strip Film Projector (), Lantern Slide Projector (), Film Service (), as described below* for

Date

at in Room No.

Time

*Title of Film Periods

Further Instructions

Teacher

Second: If the foregoing release succeeds in informing the staff as to the *what* and *how*, then the *when* and *where* are still to be listed. To accomplish this, a weekly bulletin by the visual education department should reach the teaching staff on the same day of every week. Such a bulletin is illustrated below, with four main sections. *WABC Presents* is the presentation over the school public address system by the local radio club. *On The Screen* is the listing of motion pictures due to be shown at the school for a one-week period with a three-day advance notice. *On The Air Waves* lists the standard radio broadcast of educational value. And *Special Features* completes the story by listing any type program or material available that is thought to be of special interest.

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Weekly Bulletin No.

November 28, 1945

WARL Presents

The Radio Club presents the Unfinished Symphony. There will be scenes taken from the life of Lincoln. Thursday—12:30

On The Screen

Wednesday—November 28

Java	Sound—12 Min.	Elem.
Simple Machines	Silent—12 Min.	H. S.
Acropolis	Sound—12 Min.	General
Michigan Fishing	Sound—12 Min.	General
Moscow	Sound—12 Min.	H.S.

Thursday—November 29

Pond Insects	Sound—12 Min.	H. S.
Safety (Home)	Sound—12 Min.	General
Foreign Legion	Sound—12 Min.	General
Floridian		

Curiosities	Sound—12 Min.	General
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Friday—November 30

Evolution of Earth	Sound—30 Min.	Elem.
Glimpses of Greece	Sound—12 Min.	General

Monday—December 3

Argentina	Sound—12 Min.	General
Earth's Crust	Sound—12 Min.	Elem.
Winter Wonderland	Sound—12 Min.	General

(Sports)

Children of Holland	Sound—12 Min.	Elem.
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Tuesday—December 4

Animal Fair	Sound—12 Min.	Elem.
Buyers Beware	Sound—12 Min.	H. S.
The Good Earth	Sound—30 Min.	General
Blooming Desert	Silent—12 Min.	General
Art	Sound—12 Min.	H. S.

Advance Listings

Wednesday—December 5

China Makes a Living
News Parade
Hydraulic Machines
Water Power
Atmosphere
Aphids

Thursday—December 6

Shep. Farm Dog
India
Plant Destruction
Lapland
It May Happen to You

Friday—December 7

Our Enemy (Japan)
Illinois

On The Air Waves

WOSU

"Time for Music" presents "Thanksgiving"
Grades 4, 5, 6.

Time—Wednesday, November 28, 2:30-2:45.

"News of the Week" presented by Pettigrew,
Leonard, and Williams. Grades 4, 5, 6.

Time—Thursday, November 29, 1:45-2:00.

"Music Time" presents "The Nativity as Mexican Children Tell It." Grades 1, 2, 3.

Time—Monday, December 3, 1:30-1:45.

"Once Upon a Time" presents "A Wyandot Story" (The Legend of the Black Hand)
Grades 3 to 8.

Time—Tuesday, December 4, 1:30-1:45.

DAILY—WBNS—5:00-5:30

Wednesday, November 28—March of Science—

"Wonder Drug"

Thursday, November 29—This Living World—

"Permanent Military Training"

Friday, November 30—Tales From Far and

Near—"Desert and Wilderness"

Monday, December 3—The Story of America—

"Jefferson and Independence"

Tuesday, December 4—Gateway to Music—
"Rounds and Fugues"

Special Features

Motion Pictures

"Music in the Sky" Time—Monday, December
3—Activity Period

"The Stillwell Road" Time—Tuesday, Decem-
ber 4—Activity Period

A rather pointed criticism has been leveled at the *Weekly Bulletin* on the score that such a bulletin should list only the *where* and that the *when* should be listed at the first of the school year in the annual informative bulletin. The idea being that this complete "advance notice" gives the teacher a chance to see the year's schedule of films and recordings and thus plan the year's work accordingly. The only defense is the age-old "Theory vs. Practice." In actual practice the weekly listing proves to be much more flexible and of greater value to the teaching staff.

In the first two classifications, the flow of communication has been from Teaching Aids to the Teaching Staff, but in the *third*, the direction is reversed. The key to the success or failure of any audio-visual educational program lies in the response the supervisor gets from the firing line. A recorded unit may look very good on paper at the desk of the teaching aids supervisor but turn out a dismal failure at the desk of the teacher. Where the supervisor has little or no direct contact with the teacher some report form is essential. Two methods can be employed to get a high percentage of "returns." The first, and weakest, is to simply use pressure and *require* a report form on one item before any additional items or aids will be sent to that particular teacher. The weakness here is self-evident. The second method is to make the report form small, use the check-off system of marking, and have the student operator deliver (and if possible collect) the blank at the time of presentation. The convenient 4 x 6 card makes an ideal report form as indicated in the sample.

Title: Date:

Class or Grade Unit of Study.....

Was material suitable for your grade level?

Yes No

Was material suitable for your subject matter?

Yes No

Would you rate this material poor Fair
 Good
 Should this material be booked for next year?
 Yes No
 Was the material properly projected or pre-
 sented? Yes No
 Comment:

Teacher

The direct report from the teacher is supplemented by an indirect report at the close of the school year, when each teacher has the opportunity to request the booking of special films or recordings for the following year.

With social studies and any of its allied fields, four general classifications of audio-visual aids might be listed. These are still pictures, recordings, maps and films. By way of illustration of what material is available a sample listing has been selected from each of the four classifications. For many the "still pictures" title immediately brings to mind the phrase "old-fashioned." But one look at pictures published through the N. E. A. in its series of "Studies on Modern Problems" with the lead title of "Building America" and we see at once how "modern" still pictures can be. Materials may be had in booklet form or bound with about eight booklets to a volume. If you are interested, the department is that of Supervision and Curriculum Development, and the address is, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

In the field of recordings, none better can be found than the "Lest We Forget" series of

fifteen minute dramatic transcriptions. Nine series of twenty-six programs each are available without charge to educational institutions. The programs deal with American history, its traditions and ideals, with the principles and applications of democracy, and with the dangers which now threaten our nation. A tenth series, "These Great Americans" is now released to radio stations only, but may soon be released to schools. Address: Institute of Oral and Visual Education, Radio Division, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

In this changing world, maps are now quite a problem. But the Visual Approach is quite complete in a recent booklet called *Today's Geography Of The World*. This material can be obtained from American Education Press, 400 S. Front Street, Columbus, Ohio.

Films are almost made to order for the social studies and many are the companies that rent or loan educational films. Of special interest to schools interested in school-owned films is the *Filmsets* series of social study films with complete teaching manual. Address: 1956 N. Seminary Avenue, Chicago 14, Ill. For those interested only in rental films, the *Social Studies Films* released by the Young America Film Division at 32 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y. are complete with discussion programs and work outlines.

Social studies have strength and weakness in the extreme broadness of the field, but certainly audio-visual-aids should be developed and utilized to the utmost in this great field.

News and Comment

LEONARD B. IRWIN

Principal, High School, Haddon Heights, New Jersey

THE ATOMIC BOMB AS A POLITICAL FACTOR

T. H. Thomas in *Current History* for November provided an interesting and thought-provoking article on the atomic bomb as a factor in insuring world peace. Unlike many who have written on the subject, Mr. Thomas held that the bomb has provided no answer to the

question of the prevention of war. He pointed out that its appearance has in no way diminished the excess of power politics to which the nations have already returned, nor has it shown any disposition to solve any international problems. About all that can be said for its influence is that it has made it impossible for an aggressor nation to contemplate

an attack without anticipating a costly counter-attack.

Mr. Thomas said that the glowing claims made for the bomb's peace-inducing qualities have all been based on the idea of fear—the idea that nations would live in amity through fear of doing otherwise. It should be evident, on the contrary, that the bomb is too drastic a weapon to compel unselfish and idealistic international behavior.

Suppose a city abolished all its police force, and retained only a small air squadron equipped with bombs? No doubt the squadron could prevent revolution or a civil war, but how would it cope with traffic violations, robbery, and the other routine breaches of law? No citizen would be deterred from parking near a hydrant lest a bomb fall on him, nor will nations cease from seeking to advance their own interests at the expense of others for fear the United States or the United Nations Organization will drop an admonitory atomic bomb on them.

The truth of the matter seems to be that no nation need consider the existence of the bomb at all unless it deliberately undertakes another Hitlerian program of world conquest. No possessor of the bomb, whether it be one or two nations, or a world council, will dare to risk the responsibility of using it except as the last resort for self-preservation. This being so, we can look for the problems of promoting international comity to be just as difficult to solve as ever. The existence of the bomb may be a court of last resort, but it is not likely to improve the normal relationships between states. Only enlightened public opinion can do that.

RACE RELATIONS

It is encouraging to find that there is a growing tendency toward the application of practical techniques in the matter of race relations. Much has been said and written about the problems of interracial conflict, and the pleas usually heard are ones for the use of tolerance, democracy and the blessings of education. That these are basic needs, along with equal economic opportunity for minorities, there can be no question; but they are long-term solutions. They are cures for a disease, if the patient does not die before they can be applied; in the meantime, first aid is often necessary.

There are many areas of the country where race relations are at present too precarious to be left to chance or the slow processes of time. One violent outbreak can unloose more hatred and bitterness than years of education and democratic teaching can rectify. Hence it is important that serious thought be given to the specific means for preventing these outbreaks, or of limiting them if they do occur. Until recently there seems to have been little practical planning for dealing with race riots; we have probably felt that the unpleasant possibility should be ignored, lest discussion of it become an inciting factor.

With the coming of peace and the consequent domination of domestic over foreign troubles, the danger of racial conflicts, especially in crowded areas, has become more deadly, and several writers have brought to public attention the means which several cities have found valuable in dealing with such perils. During the past summer there appeared a Public Affairs Pamphlet by Alfred McClung Lee entitled, *Race Riots Aren't Necessary*. The author did not deal with generalities or the basic principles by which true democracy may eventually be achieved. He wrote a brief guidebook for citizens and public officials interested in preventing or stopping an actual race riot next week or next month. It was well worth anyone's thoughtful and purposeful consideration.

In *Harper's* for December, there was an article with a similar object, written by Ernest A. Gray, Jr., and entitled "Race Riots Can Be Prevented." Mr. Gray pointed out that the use of certain techniques has prevented a large number of incipient outbreaks since the Detroit riot of June, 1943, and that unless these methods are widely known and followed, there is almost certain to be a major disaster somewhere in the tense post-war period. The vast migration of Negro workers to already overcrowded industrial areas, together with the critical housing situation, has set the stage for serious trouble. The wider employment opportunities provided for Negroes by the war and the FEPC will generate friction as competition for jobs becomes keener.

The techniques to which Mr. Gray refers are eminently practical in nature and capable of being adopted in any community. The first

step is the establishment of an interracial citizens committee to locate possible sources of local friction and eliminate them if possible. The local police should be trained in dealing with riots, and instructed to treat Negro rights with strict fairness. Probable danger spots and the times of probable trouble can often be identified, so that preventive measures can be taken. Prompt action by the police, the press and the citizens committee should be taken to scotch any rumors of the type that frequently incite violence.

An instance is given where police sound-trucks toured Harlem broadcasting the true facts of a situation when false rumors were threatening to produce a riot. In any case, where mobs gather and trouble seems imminent, the authorities should move as large a number of police and militiamen into the area as possible, and at once. The presence of large numbers of uniformed men has an extremely pacific effect on mobs. The police should be careful to be completely fair, and to let that fairness be evident. In dealing with a riot, they should divide large crowds into smaller ones and then disperse these, for the smaller the group, the less courage and bellicosity its members will show. All these techniques can be used in any community, as they are being used in many; they will go far toward eliminating the ugly outbreaks which nullify all our educative and liberal processes.

Another worth-while article on a special phase of racial violence was that by Oliver C. Cox in the fall number of the *Journal of Negro Education*. It was called "Lynching and the Status Quo." It analyzed the causes and purposes of lynching, and declared that "lynching is crucial in the continuance of the racial system of the South. . . . To remove the threat of it is to overthrow the ruling class in the South and to change the basis of Southern economy." Mr. Cox concludes that the condoning of lynching by many of the "best people" in the South is a necessary means of maintaining their oligarchic control over both Negroes and poor whites; the former as the victims and the latter as the lynchers are kept perpetually divided so that economic and political power remains in the hands of a dominant minority.

Still another excellent article calling for an enlightened attitude toward racial minorities

was that entitled "The White Problem in Relation to the Negro," by Dr. James H. Duckrey, which appeared in *The Harvard Educational Review* for October. Dr. Duckrey made out a powerful case against foolish and out-moded prejudices, which leave the United States in the equivocal position of being in some respects the least democratic of all the great powers.

THE PROBLEM APPROACH IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Most history teachers feel dissatisfied with the results of their work, if they are conscientious. They realize that history is not a "skill" subject, and that to teach it as such is to risk the loss of important values. An article by J. G. Neumarker in *High Points* for October discussed this problem. The author, a veteran teacher in a New York City high school, is convinced that the school's job is to prepare pupils for life, rather than for college, and that courses which are set up solely for the latter purpose are out of date. Especially does he consider this true of such courses as American history.

Mr. Neumarker urged that the traditional textbook approach to history be abandoned, and in its place be substituted a study of a series of contemporary problems of real interest to the pupils. The historical study necessary to an understanding of the nature of these problems would give the pupils all the knowledge of the American past that will have practical value for them; they will learn and retain it more thoroughly by reason of its clear application to matters in which they are actually interested. This is the opinion of Mr. Neumarker and of many others who have advocated the current problem approach to history.

It is a strong position, based on strict utility and good educational psychology. There is in fact little doubt that American political and economic history would become more meaningful from this approach. It would tend to eliminate most of the dead wood of past politics which still clutters up our textbooks through sheer weight of custom.

Yet the complete reliance on the current problem approach troubles many intelligent history teachers, who are afraid it will also eliminate much of the color, the legend, the human interest, and the cultural values of our

history. Many of the most fascinating things in our past have little direct relationship to any current issue.

Many teachers feel that the historical background of labor disputes, housing problems, racial difficulties, and international questions will not give our students a familiarity with a cultural tradition that includes such thoroughly American things as the mining camps of '49, the story of the Mormon trek, the Mississippi steamboats of Mark Twain's day, or the origins of football and baseball. Such things, and the whole warp and woof of our social past and heritage, unimportant as they may be from a practical standpoint, have cultural values and associations that must not be lost. Too great an insistence on the utilitarian aspects of history may endanger an appreciation of our colorful and fascinating past.

There is another difficulty inherent in studying history as a means of explaining current issues. That is, the tendency to lose true perspective when we move from the present to the past in our thinking. It is difficult, especially for the untrained mind, to begin with a body of current knowledge, and to interpret past thinking on the subject. To do so successfully requires the ability to put oneself back in the past and to look at the problem as contemporaries saw it, without the benefit of the hindsight we possess.

The student must force himself to realize that Hamilton or Jefferson or Thaddeus Stevens or Bryan did not have the benefit of our present knowledge or experience, and so made their decisions on a basis of the knowledge current at that time. Unless this is understood, much of our past history seems inexplicable. Yet it is not easy to project one's understanding from the present to various periods in the past, without a chronological knowledge of the growth of society to begin with. This problem was very well discussed in the November *Educational Forum* in an article by James H. Buchanan entitled, "The Danger in Reading History Backwards." It pointed clearly to the possibility of a distorted knowledge of history where the approach is backward rather than forward. The danger is a real one; history study through a series of flashbacks may help to explain the present, but it may not do justice to the past.

ARE OUR HIGH SCHOOLS SISSIFIED?

A little over a year ago there appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post*, and subsequently in *The Reader's Digest*, a very provocative article by a young ex-marine, in which he took rather violent issue with current secondary school practice. Considering the enormous public it reached, and the reactions it must have stirred up, it is rather remarkable that so few educators answered the marine in print.

Though many of his statements and examples were patently untrue of our secondary schools in general, nevertheless there was enough truth in some of his comments to deserve serious reply. One answer recently appeared in *The Clearing House* for November—an article by Dora E. Palmer, who put the marine's ideas up to her English class for discussion and answer.

It is good to see that her pupils found the right responses. They agreed with the marine that we need more vocational training in every high school (but would any administrator oppose it if the taxpayers would provide it?) They also agreed that his charges of silly, useless "cultural" study from frustrated "poor dumb civilians" were completely untrue of their own experience, as they must be in the experience of most pupils in the progressive states.

The class was alert enough to detect from the marine's article, the internal evidence which showed so clearly that no cultural training or "book learning," however offered, would have appealed to that particular individual, either before or after his war experiences. No periodical would print serious music criticism from one who was tone-deaf, and it is unfortunate that an analagous situation should have been given such wide publicity in this instance.

NOTES

International Conciliation for November was devoted to the subject of education as an implement of international cooperation. It contained an article by Howard E. Wilson, and the draft constitution of the proposed Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations, with explanatory notes by the State Department.

Teachers of current social problems should be interested in two study kits issued by The United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth

Avenue, New York 20, N. Y. They are planned for the use of schools and discussion groups, and include excellent pamphlets, study guides and poster charts about the nations and peoples making up the United Nations. Kit No. 1, which includes twenty-three charts, costs \$2.25. Kit No. 2, containing seven pamphlets about various aspects of the United Nations Organization, costs sixty cents.

The discussion by Chester Bowles and Dr. Willard Givens on price control and our schools, given in an ABC broadcast on Nov. 15, was a splendid contribution to public thinking on the financial problems of teachers and school systems, and the importance of more adequate support. Copies may be obtained from the broadcasting company or the NEA.

A letter is at hand from Miss Mary E. Cunningham, Supervisor of School Services of the New York State Historical Association, telling of the work the Association is doing to promote interest in local history among school pupils. Groups of five or more pupils with an adult sponsor may form a junior chapter, and receive membership buttons, a monthly letter of suggestions from the state association, and a

subscription to *The Yorker*, the association's junior periodical. The movement is growing rapidly and is attracting the attention of other state historical societies. This is very encouraging, for the development in the schools of an interest in local history is extremely worthwhile, not only for its own sake, but for the sense of reality and continuity in history which it gives to young students. A teacher who promotes local historical research will find that she is helping to preserve important data, and at the same time is giving her pupils a valuable and valued experience.

Teachers whose classes are concerned with Latin-American history, customs and language should become familiar with the loan materials which can be obtained from the Division of Inter-American Educational Relations, United States Office of Education, Washington 25, D.C. Lists of loan packets may be had on request. The packets, which may be borrowed free for three weeks, contain such materials as bibliographies, magazines, pictures, maps, games, courses of study, booklets, reprinted articles, and so forth. They range in difficulty from the elementary grades through college level.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

Edited by IRA KREIDER

Abington High School, Abington, Pennsylvania

Juvenile Delinquency and The School. By William C. Kvaraceus. Yonker-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1945. Pp. x, 337.

In this study of a community's approach through cooperation to a plausible solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency and the maladjusted child the author presents an excellent analysis of the Passaic program. To counselors, guidance personnel, and those interested in community development the material and trends should be stimulating.

The subject matter is divided into five parts: The Aims and Framework of the Study, The Passaic Children's Bureau, The Quest for Causes, The Quest for Methods, and The Program Develops. Part One sets the role of the

school in a scientific approach to the prevention and control of delinquency. It raises the question: "Do the schools cause delinquency?"

Part Two is descriptive of the establishment of the Passaic Children's Bureau in its community setting. The first cases of the organization are statistically treated and examples from the files indicate the work and the value of the Bureau.

Part Three discusses causes basic in delinquency and maladjustment. Prenatal and early developmental causes, the family, the social and economic status, the community, the individual, and the school are factors investigated alone and in combination for their effects. Delinquent behavior is not blue-printed but is unique with individuals.

Part Four is concerned with methods for the solution of the problem. Delinquency controlled through the police and courts has grown from arrest and punishment to "guidance, nurture, and discipline." This is accomplished through the cooperation of all available community agencies in a broader program of prevention and control, with accent on recreational activities. Aims must be defined in terms of every day behavior, especially through reorganization of curriculum and the guidance program. To best coordinate the community's agencies for continuous growth and for capacity to stir all concerned to deal effectively with the problems of youth Passaic has looked to the schools.

Part Five explains the development of the Passaic program. In working with maladjusted children they keep in mind three purposes: unwholesome and frustrating factors should be removed, assistance should be offered youth who find themselves in frustrating situations, and effective techniques for handling offenders must be ready for treatment from the viewpoint of causation rather than for retribution and punishment.

Throughout the whole of the book there is evidence of an indictment of the school, yet there is hope and a challenge that the teachers, the parents, and the community will become child-centered. All agencies with the school must focus their attention in the direction of character building, and Passaic, through its Children's Bureau, provides such coordination as part of the school system and shows positive efforts in the direction of success.

The enthusiasm of the author is indicated by the intensive and extensive research basic in the material. It is a transitional report of the beginning and development of a program for all youth. It would do well for all interested in pupil personnel to bring more of this material to our teachers, our administrators, and our communities.

ELMER A. LISSFELT

Abington Senior High School
Abington, Pennsylvania

Modern Man Is Obsolete. By Norman Cousins.
New York: The Viking Press, 1945. Pp. 59.

The urgency of the international situation and the impelling need for a practical forceful solution of the present deadlock of international aspirations entangled with national ambitions,

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requires that we examine every reasonable statement in the field and salvage every possible crumb of constructive thinking. *Modern Man is Obsolete* offers several not insignificant crumbs.

Written around the premise of the immediacy of the need for international agreement before man destroys himself, this expansion of the author's editorial in *The Saturday Review of Literature* suggests that the differences in national backgrounds and national policies, so far from making international government impossible, only makes it more imperative. If there were no differences there would be no need for coordinating organization. The threat of atomic power requires control. Control depends upon power, subordinate to law. The atom bomb makes national sovereignty preposterous.

If repeated urgings of the imperative of world organization grow monotonous, we should remind ourselves that the repetition is essential to create the willing acceptance of world federation and the exchange of national sovereignty for world security. Without con-

stant reminders some will not appreciate that the coming of the atomic age has brought more immense potentialities for change than the Industrial Revolution, and that the implications are no less immense and no less immediate for educators than for statesmen.

One of the facets of human endeavor silhouetted by the atom bomb is the direction which scientific endeavor should take. If determined application could produce the bomb in three years of intense research, why cannot the same determined effort unlock constructive uses of atomic energy in a comparable period? It is an odd commentary that science has created the atomic bomb but is still baffled by the common cold.

What does the new age mean for education? Certainly it means that merely to transmit the heritage of the past is insufficient. Certainly it means that to offer formal education to the age of sixteen or eighteen and to assume that an individual is thereby prepared to live satisfactorily in a changing world for fifty more years, is inadequate. Certainly it means that we must change our concepts (and stand ready again to change our concepts) of what national sovereignty means and should mean. Certainly it means that there are a hundred and one other vital implications of the atomic age, of most of which we cannot yet be aware, but for which we must be alert, ready to grasp and apply, if the students of today are to stand even a fifty-fifty chance of adjusting to a new and revolutionary era with at least a hope for survival.

DONALD W. ROBINSON

Brookline High School

Brookline, Massachusetts

Germany is Our Problem. By Henry Morgenthau, Jr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. Pp. xiii, 239. \$2.00.

The plan suggested calls for the end of Germany's heavy industries, chemical works, tool and machine factories, and synthetics production. With the exception of peacetime production that cannot be converted into war uses, Germany shall become predominantly a nation of small farmers. This, it is argued, will prevent another German-provoked war without any ill effects on the prosperity of any nation. What losses in exports to Germany that there may be will be offset by the industrialization of Germany's neighbors.

Facts are enumerated to prove that defeat has not changed the traditional German militaristic aims. On the contrary, it is asserted that the military leaders started plans for the next war before Hitler was defeated. Germany can be a menace to peace only if it is powerful industrially.

That reparations are not the answer was proved by the experience after 1918. They cannot be collected without the cooperation of the debtor. Likely, the United Nations would be making loans to Germany so that they could make payments. If Germany were to make reparations payments it would be the means of expanding industries which later would be converted into the production of war materials.

The proposal to de-industrialize Germany is based on the premise that Germany will go to war again just as soon as it has the opportunity. Moreover, the bombings have not crippled the factories to the extent that is popularly supposed. It is a mistake to think that democratic influences exist in Germany. Democracy did not exist even in the Weimar republic. Germany in the throes of a depression chose Hitler about the same time that the popular electorate in the United States made F. D. Roosevelt president.

A program of education would be of no avail now when Nazi doctrines fill the minds of the young generation, particularly since the ideas gotten in the home far outweigh other educational media. The only guarantees against the continuation of aggressive militarism are the division of Germany—Mr. Morgenthau suggested two divisions—and the reduction of Germany to an agrarian economy.

Secondary school students in the social studies should read such books when they are first published. The interest is higher when people are talking about the book. Many persons qualified to understand the problem disagree with the author. Some argue that Germany cannot exist without its industries. Others report that German cities and factories have been terribly damaged by the air raids. Then there are those who doubt the ability of occupation forces to reshape the economic life of a nation. It is when the young people weigh the evidence and enter into discussions that the educational process takes place.

Fair is the Morning. By Loula Grace Erdman. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 186. \$2.00.

Here we have a vocational fiction type of book that is an inspiration to prospective rural school teachers and at the same time presents an interesting narrative with a thread of romance climaxed by a happy ending.

In the story the young teacher applied for a position in a one-room school in the least favorable community the superintendent of schools had to offer. Thereupon she began her work among unpromising children in a ramshackle schoolhouse almost devoid of equipment. With a combination of tact, energy, and pedagogical wisdom, together with a depth of understanding found only in the rare individual, she revolutionized the school's educational program.

Her introduction of cleanliness in the schoolroom extended to a program of interior decorating in many homes. She organized a dramatic club, singing school, and a Sunday School with meetings in the school building. Children brought food for hot lunches prepared on a high old stove in the center of the room. Her efforts, although met with opposition, ultimately won the support of the community and paved the way for a consolidated school.

It is interesting reading. The romance of teaching may be slightly exaggerated and few of us seem to possess the high qualities of the master teacher that the heroine has. Yet, many are the rural schools that never have a good teacher.

PERTINENT PAMPHLETS

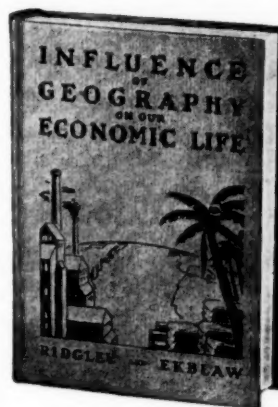
Edited By R. T. SOLIS-COHEN
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Montclair Conference on Workshop Planning. By Lester Dix. Work in Progress Series No. IV. New York: Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1945. Pp. 56. 25 cents.

Reporting on a conference which represented educational institutions and organizations interested in eliminating discriminations of various kinds, this pamphlet tells how they used the workshop technique for the solution of their problems, and gives their conclusions.

The Workshop. By Paul B. Diederich and William Van Til. Prepared for the Service Center of the American Education Fellowship and the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

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New York: Hinds, Hayden and Eldredge, Inc., 1945. Pp. 32. 25 cents.

This pamphlet describes the essential characteristics of workshops and supplements *The Montclair Conference on Workshop Planning. Your School and Its Government*. By Earl C.

Kelley, Roland C. Faunce and Richard Well-ing. New York: National Self Government Committee, 1945. Pp. 25.

The authors believe that student self government must be intensely interesting to pupils if it is to provide them with training for adult citizenship. For the latter a strong sense of personal responsibility is necessary, otherwise anti-democratic governments will have a chance to develop. The writers want citizens who are courageous, critical and inquiring with respect to the quality of their government.

Some Went to College. By Roland C. Faunce. Lansing, Michigan, 1945. Pp. 53.

This follow-up study of the college records of 382 graduates of Michigan High Schools has been made for its implications for the secondary school, for the college, and for further follow-up studies. College investigations require an increased personnel for personal interviews with students and a more extensive administration of tests to evaluate college success.

The Michigan Secondary Study. A Report of the Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum 1937-1945. Prepared for the Directing Committee by Theodore D. Rice and Roland C. Faunce. Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum State Board of Education, 1945. Pp. 45.

The Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum is a twelve year project for the cooperative improvement of secondary education. *The First Five Years of the Michigan Secondary Study* reported the progress of the study from 1937 to 1942. The present publication is a further report, incorporating many of the important elements of the First Five Years and further developments from 1942 to date.

Full Employment—Wages and Democracy. By Philip Cortney, Vice-Chairman of the Board and Treasurer, New York: Coty, Inc., 1945. Pp. 8.

Reprinted from the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, this leaflet presents Mr. Cortney's economic views. He believes that the Murray full-employment bill will be adopted by Congress but that efforts should be directed towards providing safeguards against its ill-effects, rather than towards fighting the bill. To effect the safeguards, he suggests five legislative means and four psychological procedures.

Living Costs in World War II, 1941-1944. By Philip Murray, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations; United Steelworkers of America and R. J. Thomas, Vice-President, Congress of Industrial Organizations. Publication No. 107 of Congress of Industrial Organizations. Washington, D. C.: Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1944. Illustrated. Pp. 240. 50 cents.

Buttressed with statistical evidence, this booklet maintains that all available data indicate that living costs have increased more in large cities and war centers than in rural areas. Furthermore, it holds that the Board of Labor Statistics Index (retail price) is not a suitable measure of war time living costs, and its use for this purpose in wage determinations has caused great harm to the war effort and serious injustice to American workers. The Board of Labor Statistics Index should be discarded as a measure of the cost of living for wage purposes, and in its place should be substituted a realistic—yet minimum—measurement of 45.3 per cent as the rise in wartime living costs of wage earners and lower-salaried employees.

Let My People Live: A Plea for a Living Wage. By Joseph Gaer. C.I.O. Political Action Committee—Pamphlet of the Month No. 3. New York: C.I.O. Political Action Committee, 1945. Illustrated. Pp. 23. (Distributed as a Public Service by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C.I.O.)

To enlist the support of the electorate of a legal minimum wage bill before Congress, this pamphlet explains that prosperity cannot be maintained unless workers are given incomes sufficient to maintain adequate purchasing power.

The plea for a living wage is written simply and cogently. The problem of low wages involves other problems currently vexing the



Illustrated above is a one-color reproduction of Chart D19—Our National Security. It portrays, in a striking and easily grasped manner (largely pictorial), the various complex, interdependent factors involved in maintaining our democracy through total national strength.

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American public, such as sub-standard housing and juvenile delinquency.

The Refugees Are Now Americans. By Maurice R. Davie and Samuel Koenig. Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 111. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1945. Illustrated. Pp. 32. 10 cents.

Based on a comprehensive nation-wide study conducted by the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe, this pamphlet begins by briefly reviewing earlier refugee movements. It then points out that neither our immigration laws nor our quota requirements were changed during the period of refugee immigration, despite the urgency of the situation. Instead, because of the economic depression and the threat of war, the enforcement of our immigration laws became more stringent. During the period 1933-1944, the total number of immigrants admitted was smaller than at any period during the last century.

However, the refugees have become well integrated into American life. At least half have been granted American citizenship and

most of the rest are in various stages of obtaining it. Most refugees have become self-supporting. They have contributed substantially to American business and industry and have given employment to many Americans. Some refugees have shown great ingenuity in starting new types of businesses. These conclusions are abundantly supported by the evidence presented.

This interesting little publication is well worth reading. Although brief, it covers the salient aspects of the problem. Its unique merits are its scientific respect for the facts and the intellectual integrity of its writers, an objective attitude not characteristic of most writers on immigration problems.

Look Beyond the Label. By Irene D. Jaworski. New York: Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1945. Pp. 18.

Look Beyond the Label is a play which was produced in a New York City high school. Suitable for stage or radio presentation, its purpose is to combat prejudices. Each individual should be judged on his own merits instead of being prejudged on the basis of the generalizations current about his group. Such general-

izations or labels include the beliefs that all residents of Chicago are gangsters, those of Salt Lake City polygamists, those of Florida wealthy, retired people, those of Boston excessively prim and Puritanical, etc.

The Road to Community Reorganization. Prepared by The Committee of Consultants on Community Reorganization. New York: The Women's Foundation, 1945. Pp. 32.

In this report, the Committee takes no official position but functions to present the findings of its authoritative group of consultants on the community, home and family. It concludes that the welfare of all the people is the concern of all the people and that the translation of this concept into action can provide for the citizens of every community an opportunity to participate in the strengthening of democracy.

The Evolution of Susan Prim. A story developed by the Lincoln High and Elementary School Faculties in cooperation with the staff of the Secondary School Study of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes. Tallahassee, Florida: The Lincoln High School, 1944. Pp. 59. 40 cents.

This is a description of the total program in a Negro school in Florida. Aspects emphasized in the practical application of the program include the development of the program of activities in the school and in the community, of opportunities for professional growth, and of a school-wide and continuing health program.

Women's Opportunities and Responsibilities in Citizenship. Prepared by the Committee of Consultants on Citizenship in the Home. New York: The Women's Foundation, 1945. Pp. 22.

This pamphlet defines the attitudes, knowledge and activities characteristic of good citizenship for women.

Gyps and Swindles. By William Trufant Foster. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 9. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y., 1945. Pp. 31. 10 cents.

In this pamphlet the author warns veterans and civilian consumers against various current frauds and swindles. Before spending his money, the consumer should always heed the warnings of the Better Business Bureaus:

Read before you sign—and keep a copy.

Before you invest—investigate.

For the consumer's protection the author lists fourteen "Don'ts" and twenty-six "Beware's."

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

An Introduction to Physical Anthropology. By M. F. Ashley Montagu. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1945. Pp. xiv, 325. \$4.00.

This is a general introduction to the subject of physical anthropology. It is intended for the general reader, students of biological sciences, physicians, and psychologists.

Economic Analysis and Problems. By John F. Cronin. New York: American Book Company, 1945. Pp. xv, 623. \$3.75.

A college text book for courses giving a comprehensive introduction to modern economic problems.

Essentials of American Business Law. By R. Robert Rosenberg. New York: The Gregg Publishing Company, 1945. Pp. viii, 374. \$1.40.

A textbook suited for a one-semester course in secondary schools.

Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools, 1917-1918. By Lewis Paul Todd. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945. Pp. xi, 240. \$3.15.

The effect of wartime activities upon the relations of the federal government and the public schools is the central theme of the book.

Larger Than the Sky: A Story of James Cardinal Gibbons. By Covelle Newcomb. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945. Pp. 213. \$2.50.

A fictional biography for young readers.

The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860. By Hyman B. Grinstein. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945. Pp. xiii, 645. \$3.00.

A study of the development of institutions, religion, and culture of a Jewish community.

The American Jewish Year Book 5706, 1945-1946. Edited by Harry Schneiderman and Julius B. Maller. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945. Pp. xxx, 760. \$3.00.

The Year Book has eight articles on phases of Jewish life in this country and abroad together with statistical information.